A qualitative, interpretive study exploring the well-being of slaughterers: A comparison between Jewish, Muslim and secular slaughterers

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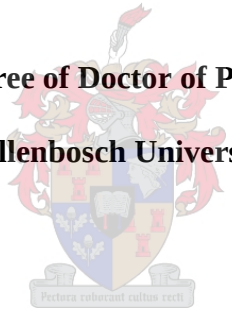

Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Psychology in the Faculty of Arts at Stellenbosch University

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March 2020

Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof, that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third-party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: March 2020

Abstract

The first slaughterhouse appeared at the beginning of the 19th century in France and the French word "abattoir" was introduced, which refers to a place where livestock are slaughtered for human consumption. Slaughterers (stunners and bleeders) are important in society because they are the people whose task it is to convert livestock into meat. Approximately 56 billion animals are slaughtered worldwide, with 11 million animals slaughtered in South Africa annually for human consumption. Slaughtering animals for meat consumption is a contentious issue and is seen as dangerous work with many physical and psychological challenges. Research also suggests that slaughtering may be linked to violence and aggression amongst slaughterers working in the abattoir.

The primary research question of this study is: How does slaughtering influence the well-being of slaughterers? Secondary research questions are: How do slaughterers experience their work? What are the occupational factors that influence the slaughterers' well-being? Are there differences in the experiences and influence of slaughtering according to the different methods used (halaal, kosher and secular slaughtering)? How do slaughterers cope with their daily work challenges? Why do some slaughterers cope better than others?

This is a qualitative, interpretive study and purposive sampling was used to access participants. The participants consist of 24 slaughterers, three of their family members and nine abattoir managers. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with participants and interview texts were analysed using interpretative thematic analysis, following Braun and Clarke (2006).

The findings revealed that South Africa's historical past of racial oppression was one of the main reasons why many secular slaughterers were working in these abattoirs. In contrast with this finding, the central reason why Muslim and Jewish participants were slaughterers was due to their religious purpose and many of them viewed their profession as a religious calling.

While the halaal and secular slaughterers identified the many physical challenges involved in their work, in contrast, the kosher slaughterers did not mention any risk factors for injury and physical stress. All the slaughterers reported that they initially felt emotional when they began slaughtering but these emotions dissipated after a few days, weeks or months. They stated that over time they became accustomed to their work. This period is characterised by emotional desensitisation and can be associated with the hyper-masculine identity these men took on in the course of their work. Every slaughterer, irrespective of their religion, mentioned the importance of not bringing feelings into their work. There were only two halaal slaughterers and one secular slaughterer who briefly explored the psychological challenges of working in an abattoir. Management strategies, such as good communication, respect and job rotation were identified by the managers. Another key finding in the current study was that religious slaughterers viewed their work differently to secular slaughterers, and that prayer was an important coping strategy for religiously sanctioned slaughterers. Another central theme was fostering good relationships with family members, friends, and colleagues, which helped slaughterers maintain a positive outlook at work.

The findings of the study revealed the physical, social, emotional and psychological challenges that slaughterers, working in the dirty area of an abattoir, may face. Although South Africa is known for its prevalence of violence, the current study did not find clear evidence of violent behaviour among slaughterers working in the dirty area of an abattoir, and thus stands in contrast to the studies by Fitzgerald, Kalof, and Dietz (2009) and Jacques (2015). Despite the violent nature of slaughtering and the fact that I have identified many physical and psychological challenges, it seems as if many of the slaughterers were resilient and well-adapted.

Opsomming

Die eerste openbare slagpale het gedurende die 19de eeu in Frankryk ontstaan en die Franse word "abattoir", wat verwys na 'n plek waar vee vir menslike gebruik geslag word, is bekend gestel. Slagters, insluitend bedwelmers en bloeiers, word baie belangrik geag in ons samelewing, aangesien hulle verantwoordelik is om lewende diere in voedsel te omskep. Daar word jaarliks ongeveer 56 biljoen diere wêreldwyd vir menslike verbruik geslag en 11 miljoen diere in Suid-Afrika. Die slagting van diere word as 'n fisiese, sosiale en morele besmette werk gesien. Dit word ook as 'n gevaarlike werk, met talle fisiese en sielkundige uitdagings beskryf. Daar is ook navorsers wat aandui dat die werk van 'n slagter met gewelddadige gedrag verband hou.

Die primêre navorsingsvraag van hierdie studie sluit in: Hoe word die welstand van 'n slagter deur die slagting van diere beïnvloed? Sekondêre navorsing vrae sluit in: Hoe ervaar die slagters hulle werk? Watter faktore in die abattoir het die grootste invloed op 'n slagter se welstand? Is daar 'n verskil in die ervaring en impak van slagters met betrekking tot halaal, kosjer en sekulêre slag metodes? Hoe hanteer die slagters hulle daaglikse werk uitdagings? Waarom hanteer sommige slagters hulle werk beter as ander?

Gedurende hierdie kwalitatiewe, interpretiewe studie het ek die deelnemers deur middel van doelgerigte steekproefneming gekontak. Die studie het uit 24 slagters, drie van hulle familielede en nege abattoir bestuurders bestaan. Ten einde die data in te samel, het ek van semi-gestruktureerde in-diepte onderhoudvoering gebruik gemaak. Ten einde die data te analiseer, het ek Braun en Clarke (2006) se tematiese analise tegniek gebruik.

Die invloed van Suid-Afrika se historiese verlede van kolonialisme en rasse-onderdrukking is een van die hoofredes waarom meeste van die sekulêre slagters in die abattoir werk. In teenstelling met hierdie bevinding, hou die hoofrede waarom halaal- en kosjer slagters in die abattoir werk verband met die feit dat hulle beroep vir hulle 'n godsdienstige roeping is.

Terwyl halaal- en sekulêre slagters die talle fisiese uitdagings van slagting geïdentifiseer het, het die kosjer slagters geen melding van enige fisiese beserings of stres gemaak nie.

Al die slagters het aanvanklik emosioneel gevoel toe hulle by die abattoir begin werk het, maar hierdie emosies het na afloop van ŉ paar dae of maande verdwyn. Hulle emosies het met verloop van tyd genormaliseer, waartydens hulle gewoond geraak het aan hulle werk. Hierdie tydperk kan deur emosionele afstomping gekenmerk word. Hierdie emosionele afstomping kan ook met die hiper-manlike identiteit van die slagters verbind word. Elke slagter, ongeag van sy godsdiens, het melding gemaak van die feit dat gevoelens nie in die abattoir hoort nie. Daar was slegs twee halaal slagters en een sekulêre slagter wat kortliks die sielkundige uitdagings van die werk in ŉ abattoir beskryf het. Hulle het aangedui dat hulle nie vir altyd sal kan slag nie, want hulle glo dat die werk jou op ŉ sielkundige vlak in die langtermyn kan beïnvloed.

Bestuur strategieë soos goeie kommunikasie, respek en werksrotering is deur die bestuurders geïdentifiseer. Daar is ook bevind dat godsdienstige slagters hulle werk anders as sekulêre slagters ervaar en dat gebed vir die godsdienstige slagters ŉ belangrike rol speel. Goeie verhoudings met familielede, vriende en kolegas dra ook daartoe by dat slagters ŉ positiewe uitkyk op hulle werk behou.

Die bevindinge van die studie het dus die fisiese, sosiale, emosionele en sielkundige uitdagings van die werk in ŉ abattoir bevestig. Hoewel Suid-Afrika as ŉ gewelddadige land bekend staan, het die bevindinge van die huidige studie nie ŉ verband tussen die slagting van diere en geweld bevind nie en die studie staan dus in teenstelling met Fitzgerald et al. (2009) en Jacques (2015). Ten spyte van die gevaarlike natuur van slagting en die talle fisiese en sielkundige afwykings wat ek identifiseer het, blyk dit dat die meeste slagters veerkragtig is en goed aangepas is.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the following people who have helped and guided me through my doctoral journey:

1. My heavenly father for giving me the necessary courage, strength and patience to complete my Doctoral dissertation.
2. The 11 abattoir managers who gave me permission to interview the slaughterers in the abattoirs.
3. The 24 slaughterers, three family members and nine abattoir managers who participated in my study. You were the most important part of this study and I would not have been able to complete this Doctoral dissertation without you.
4. My dad, John Dürr for being my chauffeur and driving me to all these different abattoirs. Thank you for your endless love and support.
5. My family, mom Mari, sister Karli and brothers John-William and Pieter-Jans for your endless support and encouragement.
6. The love of my life, Kevin Leo, for always believing in me and encouraging me. Thank you for your unconditional love and support.
7. My promoter, Dr Zuhayr Kafaar for all your valuable input, guidance, criticism, help and support.
8. My co-promoter, Prof Louwrens Hoffman for your valuable input and guidance during the process. Thank you also for organising and providing the necessary funds for the study.
9. The National Research Foundation for funding this Doctoral Dissertation.
10. Dr. Sarah Gordon for being my research assistant and editor. Thank you for all your valuable input in my study. You have played a major role in my life.

11. Jacqueline Gamble thank you for editing the final copy of my thesis. Your work comes highly recommended.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In modern society, animals are used for various purposes, such as pets, companions, farm labour and most commonly as a source of food and clothing. The meat industry is involved in the daily killing of thousands of animals for human consumption. The meat industry is a modern reality and it is a subject that people do not usually discuss in their everyday life. According to Baran, Rogelberg, and Clausen (2016), the killing of animals has become an enormous, systematic and well-organised process that functions mainly behind the scenes of modern society. Approximately 56 billion animals are slaughtered worldwide for human consumption each year (Koneswaran & Nierenberg, 2008). In South Africa, there are approximately 285 red meat abattoirs that slaughter about 11 million animals for human consumption each year. It is the abattoir industry's responsibility to convert livestock into meat and it is critical to ensure that this meat is a safe product for consumers. The current study explored the well-being of slaughterers who work as stunners or bleeders in the dirty area of the abattoir. In this chapter, I will discuss the history of abattoirs and the layout of an abattoir. The concept of "dirty work" will be described and the motivation of the study will be provided. The research questions and aims of the study will also be described. The chapter concludes with an outline of the current study.

1.2 The Background of an Abattoir

The abattoir was developed in the early 19th century as a unique institute (Young-Lee, 2008). According to Brantz (as cited in Young-Lee, 2008), abattoirs developed during the transition from the rural to the industrial age and were accompanied by increased urbanisation,

the development of technology and concern about public hygiene. Before this there were no dedicated places to slaughter animals, resulting in animals being slaughtered in areas such as the backyards of homes, which contributed to the possible spreading of disease (Fitzgerald, 2010). At the beginning of the 18th century, there was an argument that a public slaughterhouse would be a better solution than a private slaughterhouse. Thus, the first public slaughterhouse appeared at the beginning of the 19th century in France and the French word “abattoir” was introduced, which refers to a place where livestock “animals” are slaughtered for human consumption (Young-Lee, 2008).

According to the South African Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (2009), the following work areas are found in a red meat abattoir: the lairage and emergency slaughter areas, the dirty area, and the clean area. The lairage and emergency slaughter areas are where animals are kept when they first arrive at the abattoir. The “dirty area” is where animals are taken after the lairage and this is where the animals are stunned and bled. The clean area is where the animals are moved to from the dirty area and tasks such as the removal of heads and feet; the removal of hides or skins; evisceration; the splitting of the carcass; and primary and secondary meat inspection, are undertaken.

There are two processes of slaughtering in the dirty area of an abattoir, namely stunning and bleeding (Needham, 2012). The stunner will first render the animal unconscious before the bleeder exsanguinates the animal to allow it to bleed out. There are four types of stunning, namely: (1) captive bolt, where a gun-like device is used to shoot a bolt into the head. This is usually used on adult cattle and sometimes sheep, pigs and calves; (2) electrical stunning, where electrical equipment is placed across a pig’s, sheep’s or cattle’s head to render it unconscious; (3) a water bath, which is a form of electrical stunning, where birds are hung by their feet in metal holders on a belt and their heads are dipped into electrified water; and (4) gas, where carbon dioxide or other inert gases are used (Needham, 2012). This is used mainly

on poultry and pigs. The bleeding/exsanguination process is also different for each animal because the bleeding comes from having both carotid arteries cut to ensure maximum blood loss (Needham, 2012). With poultry and sheep the slaughterer will cut the throat behind the jaw of the animal, while in the case of cattle, after severing the jugular and carotid blood vessels the slaughterer will cut below the jaw, and then make a second cut where the skin opens at the neck via a 30cm longitudinal cut. After the skin of the cattle is cut, a clean knife will be used and inserted at a 45° angle to cut through the aorta. The knife must be extremely sharp, without marks or damage and at least double the width of the neck. The knife is used to make a fast, aggressive cut across the throat with the least number of strokes possible to bring about immediate and massive blood loss (Needham, 2012). In pigs, no throat cut is made and only a cut is made with a thoracic stick) whilst in the case of chickens, only the neck is cut.

According to Needham (2012), the slaughtering process and techniques used are different for Jewish and Muslim slaughtering and are called kosher and halaal slaughtering, respectively. Concerning the standard industry practice worldwide, animals should be stunned before slaughter, as it renders them unconscious and decreases the amount of pain they experience when they are killed (Needham, 2012). The South African Animal Protection Law, which requires animals to be stunned before slaughter, allows exceptions for religious slaughter (Agbeniga & Webb, 2012). The conventional slaughtering is performed with prior stunning, while the Jewish faith does not accept any stunning. Some Muslim authority bodies accept electrical stunning if there are signs that the animal can regain consciousness (Bonne & Verbeke, 2008; Cenci-Goga et al., 2010; Farouk, 2013; Needham, 2012). More detail on the different slaughtering methods will be discussed in the next chapter.

According to Ashforth and Kreiner (2014), the work in an abattoir can be classified as “dirty work”. Dirty work refers to work that no one wants to do, because it is so morally horrible, and it may carry a stigma (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Some occupations that are

classified as “dirty work” include animal euthanasia workers (Baran et al., 2012) and exotic dancers (Mavin & Grandy, 2013). According to Baran et al. (2016), the work in an abattoir can also be classified as “dirty work”, because employees are working so closely with death, and the daily exposure to certain tasks such as the removal of heads, feet and intestines of freshly killed animals and the fact that the areas they are working in are full of animal waste and blood. All the occupations that can be classified as “dirty work” may be considered physically, socially or morally tainted (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999).

A job may have a “physical taint” and be considered “dirty work” if the work is directly associated with physically “dirty” matter, for example, when you are working closely with death (Baran et al., 2016). Occupations may have “physical taint” if employees work in harmful and dangerous situations, therefore abattoir work may be perceived as having a certain level of physical taint (Baran et al., 2016). “Social taint” refers to jobs in which employees are required to be in close contact with stigmatised populations, such as prostitutes (Baran et al., 2016). Working in an abattoir may have a level of social taint because slaughterers in abattoirs are often stigmatised for their work. “Moral taint” refers to work which others question the morality of and many consider the work itself “sinful” (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth et al., 2007). In many cultures where people consider eating meat to be wrong, abattoir workers carry a level of moral taint (Baran et al., 2016).

However, the premise that working in an abattoir is “dirty” or “morally tainted” is also flawed because it ignores another dimension to this argument. The ritual slaughter of animals (in the case of kosher and halaal abattoirs) with the intention of providing meat to a religious community is protected under the right to freedom of religion (Lerner & Rabello, 2006). It is important to discuss both a citizen’s right to religious expression and the suffering caused to the animal, to decide whether the suffering to an animal is excessive or not (Lerner & Rabello, 2006). The slaughtering of animals in abattoirs to produce meat for human consumption is a

complex issue as it invokes various ethical questions. This study aims to explore the experiences of the slaughterers who work in religious and secular abattoirs, examining the impact this work has on their overall well-being.

1.3 Motivation for the Study

In the general workplace, several factors can lead to a decline in employee well-being, which may affect the psychosocial adjustment of an employee (Schaufeli, Bakker, & Van Rhenen, 2009). These factors include high job demands (such as emotional demands, high workload and problems at work); low self-esteem and low social support (Schaufeli et al., 2009); long working hours; low income; violence in the workplace; injury risk and discrimination (Kleiner & Pavalko, 2010; Kopp, Stauder, Purebl, Janszky, & Skrabski, 2007). Some of these factors, such as violence in the workplace, injury risk, low income, long working hours and a decrease in work resources and discrimination are related to working in an abattoir and therefore pose potential risks to the well-being of a slaughterer working in an abattoir.

It is important to pay attention to the people performing “dirty work” and the potential problems they may develop due to the physical, social and morally tainted nature of the work they perform daily. The people working as stunners or bleeders in the dirty area of an abattoir are important because they are responsible for converting livestock into meat for human consumption. According to the Human Rights Watch (2004), the environment of an abattoir is damp and cold. There is a lot of noise in the abattoir from the animals, the processing activities within the slaughterhouse, as well as plant machineries such as air conditioning, compressed air equipment, ventilation plants, stunning boxes, and pumps, and service vehicles (Department of Agriculture & Rural Development, 2009).

According to Dalla, Ellis, and Cramer (2005), the work in an abattoir is dangerous, with long hours and intensive labour, and is psychologically and physically demanding. The

physical demands include repetitive movement, such as lifting, pushing and pulling of heavy equipment, as well as a lot of cutting with sharp knives on a high-speed production line. These physical demands may lead to physical problems such as carpal tunnel syndrome (Frost, Anderson, & Nielsen, 1998), musculoskeletal disorders (Sundstrup, Jakobsen, Jay, Brandt, & Andersen, 2014), vibration white finger (an industrial injury triggered by continuous use of vibrating hand-held machinery) and cut wounds (Dillard, 2008).

The employees in an abattoir are also exposed to chemicals and biological materials in animal urine, faeces and blood, which may lead to health issues. These health issues are mainly lung and lymphohematopoietic cancer (Kristensen & Lynge, 1993; McLean, Cheng, Mannetje, Woodward, & Pearce, 2004). There is also an absence of adequate resources for slaughterers to cope with the high demands of their work (Fitzgerald, 2010). According to Fitzgerald (2010), this is mostly due to a lack of training, their poor socio-economic status and a shortage of safety equipment at abattoirs.

According to the World Health Organization (2002, p. 11): "Violence is the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or a group or community that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or denial". Violence is related to many factors, including frustration, aggression and substance abuse (Nydegger, 2000), as well as environmental factors such as heat, cold and noise (Neumann & Baron, 1998). Baron, Straus, and Jaffee (1988), Fitzgerald et al. (2009) and Marshall, Panuzio, and Taft (2005) argue that the underlying violent work in an abattoir may result in deviant behaviour in slaughterers both within and outside the abattoir. Research shows that high levels of psychological and somatic symptoms such as stress, fatigue, and back pain are also evident in abattoir workers (Kristensen, 1991), as well as several social problems, including intimate partner violence, increased crime rates and substance abuse (Fitzgerald, 2010; Jacques, 2015).

Drawing on this research, one can argue that the slaughtering of animals at an abattoir is a form of violence and may lead to psychological symptoms (such as violent behaviour toward others, substance abuse, anxiety and stress) in abattoir employees. There are also environmental factors that occur in the abattoir such as extreme heat, cold and noise, as well as levels of frustration, which may lead to more violent behaviour amongst abattoir employees. In the South African context, the violent and dangerous working conditions in the abattoir, together with the previously mentioned factors, such as the low socio-economic status of the employees, their basic education and training, and their low income and limited family resources, may be detrimental to the psychological well-being of many abattoir workers (Victor & Barnard, 2016).

According to Tov and Chan (2012) and Oswald, Proto, and Sgroi (2015), employee well-being plays an important role in the workplace. Productivity in the workplace and work relationships facilitate the positive well-being of employees (Tov & Chan, 2012). When employees are satisfied and happy, they are more likely to trust their supervisors, pay attention to the rules and regulations of the company, make suggestions to improve the company and work together as a team to reach group goals (Tov & Chan, 2012). Oswald et al. (2015) similarly indicated that employees will work harder and will be more productive when they are happy at work and if their well-being is enhanced. Wright and Huang (2012) argued that if employers pay attention to the well-being of employees, it will lead to better job performance, retention and profitability. Tov and Chan (2012) argue that research has shown that employee well-being is also positively associated with customer satisfaction. However, the opposite is also true. Employees who are dissatisfied and unhappy are more likely to be disengaged, absent without valid reasons, cynical, non-cooperative and more likely to engage in counter-productive behaviour (Tov & Chan, 2012). Other studies in the literature similarly indicate that if employers pay attention to the well-being of employees, it will lead to better performance at

work (Bryson, Forth, & Stokes, 2015; Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005; Zelenski, Murphy, & Jenkins, 2008). One can thus argue that a study focusing on the well-being of abattoir employees is important, to create healthy slaughterers and a productive work environment in the abattoir.

According to Dillard (2008) and Victor and Barnard (2016), there are limited studies on the experiences of slaughterers and how their work affects their psychological well-being. A study focusing on how slaughterers experience their work, and what impact slaughtering has on their well-being, will make a positive contribution to the well-being of abattoir employees, as it will help researchers identify factors that can make abattoir employees more resilient. Being able to practice resilience in the presence of traumatic or stressful conditions is important. According to Rohlf and Bennett (2005), some people have adequate resilience when they are exposed to the killing of animals and can cope, but others have inadequate resilience and do not cope well when exposed to the slaughtering of animals. It is therefore beneficial to explore why some slaughterers cope better than others, to help those slaughterers who struggle. The results of this study are important as it provides a way to understand how slaughtering may influence a slaughterer's well-being and how they cope with the challenges of their job.

Victor and Barnard (2016) indicated that it would be beneficial to compare the experiences and coping strategies of slaughterers from different religious and cultural backgrounds. As their backgrounds differ, their experiences of the job and their coping skills might also differ. In the current doctoral study, I will thus compare the slaughterers, who are slaughtering according to different religious slaughtering laws.

If one can discover how the slaughtering of animals may influence the well-being of the slaughterer then psychosocial and health interventions may be developed. The findings of the study can also be used to give employees access to counselling, debriefing sessions and other workplace strategies such as job rotation – which may lead to better coping. The results

can also be used to develop coping strategies for employees who work in the dirty area of an abattoir.

According to Chulayo, Tada, and Muchenj (2012), research regarding the meat industry of South Africa focuses mainly on the quality and production of meat, and not on the well-being of abattoir employees. As a result, this current doctoral thesis addresses a significant gap in the literature regarding the meat industry and abattoir workers in South Africa and represents a significant contribution to the meat industry in South Africa. The study will also make a positive contribution to the field of psychology in South Africa, as well as addressing a significant gap in the international and local literature on slaughterers in abattoirs since there is limited research on this topic.

According to Babbie and Mouton (2010), there are three main research approaches: namely the qualitative approach, which is related to phenomenology or interpretivism; the quantitative approach, which is related to positivism; and participatory research, which is related to the critical paradigm in metatheory. According to McGregor (2009, p. 146), metatheory refers to: "members of a discipline systematically constructing and evaluating the theories, models, and conceptual frameworks of their field, not the empirical data". Depending on the aims and questions of their studies, the theories, models, hypotheses and frameworks of enquiry differ for different researchers. Since I was interested in the experiences of slaughterers, I chose interpretivism as the philosophical rationale for this study. I thus adopted an intersubjective or interactional stance towards the reality of the participants I am investigating. More reasons for the value of this paradigm in my study will be provided in chapter three, section 3.2.

1.4 Main Aims of the Study

The primary research question and the main goal of this study were to answer the following question: How does slaughtering influence the well-being of slaughterers? The secondary research questions included: How do the slaughterers experience their work?; Are there differences in the experiences and influences of slaughtering according to halaal, kosher and secular slaughtering methods?; What are the occupational factors that influence the slaughterers' well-being?; How do slaughterers cope with their daily work challenges?; and Why do some slaughterers cope better than others?

1.5 Outline of the Study

The outline of the thesis is as follows. Chapter two gives an overview of the literature regarding the work in an abattoir. Terms such as wellness and well-being are discussed and there is a focus on well-being in the workplace. Positive and negative factors that may influence well-being in the workplace are also discussed. Research is discussed regarding the physical, social and psychological challenges that slaughterers, working in an abattoir, may face. Since research on the well-being of abattoir employees is limited, the literature review will look at other related studies on "violence as work", which include the well-being of soldiers and military workers. Although killing animals is not the same as killing human beings, some researchers argue that the psychological trauma suffered by slaughterers and soldiers may be similar (MacNair, 2002). Resilience and the coping strategies abattoir employees use to deal with the daily demands and challenges of their work will also be discussed. Chapter three provides an overview of the method of investigation followed in this study. This chapter focuses on the research design, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory and Lazarus and Folkman's transactional model of stress and coping as the theoretical framework, the qualitative research methodology of the study, philosophical views, sampling strategy and participants, procedure of the research, data collection techniques, data analysis and data

management, the role of the researcher, a reflexive analysis, the role of gatekeepers in research, the credibility of the study as well as ethical issues. In chapter four, the findings of the current study are explored. This chapter also provides a discussion of the results in the context of current literature, ecological systems theory and stress and coping theory. Chapter five consists of a summary of the research and the conclusions, as well as limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

1.6 Conclusion

Based on the discussions in this chapter, abattoir employees are exposed to various demands and face many challenges at work. These demands and challenges may also lead to physical, social and psychological problems. It is not only the slaughterers who may suffer, but this work can also affect their family, friends and community. For South African slaughterers, it can also be difficult to cope with their working conditions, as not all the slaughterers have adequate support resources, such as financial security and social support and not everyone has access to adequate mental health services.

Since research on this topic is limited and South African literature almost non-existent, it is, therefore, necessary to explore how the slaughtering of animals may influence the well-being of slaughterers. It is also important to explore how the slaughterers experience their work and what coping strategies and resources they use to cope with the challenges of their work. This study is important because if the slaughtering of animals has a major influence on the slaughterers' well-being, intervention programmes should be provided for the slaughterers. Slaughterers play an important role in South Africa as well as in the rest of the world, and it is therefore important that we as researchers focus on their well-being. The following chapter (chapter two) provides an overview of the literature regarding abattoir employees.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The main purpose of the current study is to explore whether the slaughter of animals affects abattoir employees' (the slaughterers working in the dirty area) well-being. In this chapter, I will explore the relationship between health, wellness and well-being. A person's well-being is influenced by their physical, social and psychological health and therefore these aspects will be discussed in the chapter. From the literature, it appears that an individual's environment can affect their well-being (Hurwitz & Morgenstern, 2001), therefore I will also identify and discuss the environmental factors that may influence a slaughterer's well-being. I will also discuss the factors that affect well-being in the general workplace. The different methods of slaughter will be discussed, as well as the physical, social and psychological challenges that may occur in the work of a slaughterer. Finally, I will discuss the coping strategies used by abattoir employees.

2.2 Defining Wellness and Well-Being

The main aim of the current study is to explore the well-being of slaughterers working as stunners or bleeders in the dirty area of an abattoir. It is necessary to obtain a better understanding of the concept of well-being, as well as employee well-being. There are many different definitions of the concept, "wellness". When looking at the construct of wellness, Corbin and Pangrazi (2001, p. 3) state that, "wellness is a multidimensional state of being, describing the existence of positive health in an individual as exemplified by quality of life and a sense of well-being", whilst according to Ardell (1985, p. 38), "wellness is a conscious and deliberate approach to an advanced state of physical, psychological, and spiritual health".

Corbin, Lindsey, Welk, and Corbin (2002) argue that wellness is simply a person's state of well-being that leads to a better and healthier life. Wellness emerges from the concept of health. According to the World Health Organization, "health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not just the absence of disease and infirmity" (World Health Organization, 1946, p. 100).

Els and De La Rey (2006) argue that wellness includes the balance of physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health, which enables an individual to live at his or her highest possible potential as a person. Attridge, Herlihy and Maiden (2013) argue that there are many on-duty risk factors in an organisation that can affect an employees physical health. Nzonzo (2016, para. 8), indicate that "psychological health refers to the absence of distress or a disability otherwise caused by a behavioural, psychological, or biological dysfunction in an individual". When employees do not have adequate psychological health, it can lead to them not performing optimally in the organisation (Nzonzo, 2016). Gilbert and Kelloway (2014) argue that the spiritual health of employees is important in any organisation. Spiritual health in an organisation refer to "the quality of relationships, the pursuit for individual purpose, and the search for meaning in day to day interaction and how they affect organisational functioning" (Nzonzo, 2016, para. 9). Social health refers to the relationships and the quality of relationships among colleagues in an organisation (Nzonzo, 2016).

According to Nzonzo (2016, para. 6), wellness is an approach that an individual uses to "improve the quality of his/her life, health and psychological strengths in proactive and positive ways both as a member of a community and as an employee". Colling (2013) and Els and De la Rey (2006) indicate that a person who have optimal wellness, is someone that is physically healthy and who have good psychological and social well-being.

In addition, Nzonzo (2016, para. 6) argue that employee well-being is defined as "personal happiness or feeling good and living safely and healthily". Employee well-being is

also an essential part of wellness (Nzonzo, 2016). It is true that stress occur in any organisation on a daily basis, and it will therefore be beneficial for employees to discuss the challenges and stress they experience at work with a counsellor or psychologist (Katushabe et al., 2015; Salanova, Del Líbano, Llorens, & Schaufeli, 2014). Kloep, Hendry, and Saunders (2009) contend that when an individual faces challenges, all challenges and resources come into a state of imbalance. This imbalance may force the individual to adjust his or her resources to meet the specific challenge. In other words, they argue that stable well-being occurs when an individual has the physical, social and psychological resources they need to cope with a specific challenge. Dodge, Daly, Huyton, and Sanders (2012, p. 234) similarly argued that "stable well-being is when individuals have the psychological, social and physical resources they need to meet a particular psychological, social and/or physical challenge. When individuals have more challenges than resources, the see-saw dips, along with their well-being, and vice-versa". Hurwitz and Morgenstern (2001) note that a person's environment plays an important role in regulating stable well-being. Stable well-being is also influenced by the construct of psychological capital. According to Luthans, Youssef, and Avolio (2007, p. 3), psychological capital is defined as:

> An individual's positive psychological state of development that is characterised by: (1) having confidence {self-efficacy} to take on and put in the necessary effort to succeed at challenging tasks; (2) making a positive attribution {optimism} about succeeding now and in the future; (3) persevering toward goals and, when necessary, redirecting paths to goals {hope} to succeed; and (4) when beset by problems and adversity, sustaining and bouncing back and even beyond {resiliency} to attain success.

According to Huppert and So (2011) and Seligman (2011), the concept of flourishing is also used in psychology research to describe well-being. Keyes and Annas (2009) indicated

that subjective well-being (which is also referred to as happiness), refers to two components in an individual's life, namely feeling good (life satisfaction and a positive affect balance) and functioning well. If these two components are combined, the flourishing and languishing of people can be studied. Flourishing is a state in which individuals experience emotional, psychological and social well-being (Keyes & Annas, 2009). Keyes (2005, 2007) indicated that the concept of flourishing refers to positive functioning in life and individuals who are experiencing high levels of emotional, psychological and social well-being. In contrast, languishing refers to individuals who are experiencing low levels of emotional, psychological and social well-being (Keyes, 2007).

Emotional well-being consists of job satisfaction and a positive effect balance and was conceptualised based on the research of Keyes (2005, 2007) and Rojas and Veenhoven (2013). Job satisfaction refers to employees' perceptions of all aspects of their current jobs concerning their wants and expectations (Pavot & Diener, 2008). Life satisfaction is influenced by factors such as health, income, and the quality of one's work. According to Diener, Tay, and Oishi (2013), life satisfaction is more closely related to income at both the individual and nation levels. Positive affect in the workplace refers to pleasant experiences such as joy, gratitude, serenity, hope, pride and amusement. Negative affect refers to unpleasant experiences such as anger, sadness, anxiety, boredom, frustration and guilt (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2018; Kahneman & Deaton, 2010).

According to Guindon, O'Rourke and Cappeliez (2004), the term psychological well-being is somewhat of an elusive concept and different definitions of the concept exist. Some researchers refer to psychological well-being as a lack of symptom distress, while others refer to it as a balance of positive and negative affect, life satisfaction, or quality of life (Diener & Emmons, 1984; Liang, 1985). Ryff (1989) noted that a few decades ago, psychological well-being was not clearly and comprehensively defined, and she decided to design a new model of

psychological well-being. Ryff's model of psychological well-being is multidimensional and does not exclusively focus on positive emotions or happiness, but rather on the idea of a balanced life. The six dimensions of psychological well-being include autonomy; purpose in life; positive relations with others; personal growth; environmental mastery; and self-acceptance (Ryff, 1989). Autonomy refers to self-determination and independence (Ryff, 1989). When looking at the work context, autonomy refers to the employee's desire to experience the freedom of choice when making decisions. Meaning and purpose at work refer to employees' subjective experiences that their work is important, valuable and purposeful (Steger, Dik, & Duffy, 2012). Positive relations with others refer to individuals who are capable of having warm, trusting interpersonal relations and who can love (Ryff, 1989). Environmental mastery refers to an individual's ability to choose or create environments suitable for their psychic conditions as a characteristic of mental health (Ryff, 1989). Personal growth refers to an individual who is open to new experiences and who continue to develop his / her potential, to grow as a person (Ryff, 1989). Self-acceptance refers to an individual who accepts his / her past and who has a positive attitude about their life (Ryff, 1989). The psychological well-being construct has been studied in several contexts and may influence the mental, emotional, and physical state of an individual. When an individual experience a decrease in positive psychological well-being, it may lead to an increase in distress symptoms (Simon, 2002); difficulties in coping with major life transitions (Abbot et al., 2008); and an increase in negative self-evaluations, impaired work productivity, and neuroticism (Lindfors, Berntsson, & Lundberg, 2006). In contrast, however, an increase in positive psychological well-being may lead to less stress and better coping with trauma (Ryff & Singer, 1998); an improvement in physical health (Keyes, 2005); sleep quality (Friedman et al., 2005); and a decreased vulnerability to psychological damage from adverse events (Ryff & Singer, 2003).

Social well-being refers to experiences focused on social tasks that are encountered in organisations (Keyes, 2005). Based on Keyes' (2005) theory, social well-being consists of five elements, namely *social acceptance* (when employees accept the fact that people are diverse), *social growth* (employees who believe in the potential of their colleagues and their organisations), *social contribution* (whether employees think that their daily actions add value to their organisation and others), *social coherence* (whether employees find their organisations and social lives meaningful), and *social integration* (employees experience a sense of empathy and support from the organisation) (Janse Van Rensburg, Rothmann, & Diedericks, 2017; Rautenbach, 2015; Thekiso, Botha, Wissing, & Kruger, 2013). Social well-being is an important concept in South Africa because it relates to the African concept of Ubuntu (Thekiso et al., 2013). According to Mbiti (1970, p. 108), Ubuntu mean: "whatever happens to the individual happens to the entire group, and whatever happens to the entire group happens to the individual". In the current doctoral study, the term well-being includes the different domains of well-being, such as social, emotional and psychological well-being.

2.3 Well-Being and the Environment

Since stable well-being can be affected by a person's environment (Hurwitz & Morgenstern, 2001), it is important to look at the environmental factors that influence well-being. These environmental factors include physical, social, biological or cultural factors. When a person is in a positive environment, it can help decrease feelings of depression and illness, while exposure to a negative environment may increase feelings of depression and illness (Hurwitz & Morgenstern, 2001).

According to the Reports on the Health of Canadians (Federal, Provincial, & Territorial Advisory Committee on Population Health, 1999, p. 3), "evidence suggests that living and working conditions are perhaps the most powerful influences on health". A person's health and well-being are also influenced by the economic and the social environment, such as physical safety, an adequate income, the workplace environment, family and friend's networks, and learning opportunities (Federal, Provincial, & Territorial Advisory Committee on Population Health, 1999). According to the reports, higher income is related to better health, because it gives individuals the ability to make their own choices and allows them to feel in control of their life. The reports, as well as Abduhu, Alam, and Bhatti (2014), Ali and Jalal (2018) and Kingdon and Knight (2000), also found that education is related to health because a higher level of education makes a person feel better about themselves, and may lead to better health conditions, lower unemployment and a higher income. The report suggests that a person that does not have grade 12 may be predisposed to obesity, high blood pressure and high cholesterol (Federal, Provincial, & Territorial Advisory Committee on Population Health, 1999). Based on this study, I can argue that a higher level of education appears to lead to better working conditions, and a higher income, which appears to be linked to better overall health and well-being. Similarly, Higgins, Lavan, and Metcalfe (2008) state that education is an important social factor for good health and the personal and social skills that an individual obtains from

education may have a significantly positive impact on individual health and their family's health. Other studies show that individuals with low levels of education may suffer from health conditions such as diabetes, depression, and overall poor health, and may die at a younger age than those with higher levels of education (Feinstein, 2002; Lleras-Muney, 2005; Maty, Everson-Rose, Haan, Raghunathan, & Kaplan, 2005; Von Dem Knesebeck, Verde, & Dragano, 2006).

2.4 Employee Well-Being in the Workplace

Workplace stress is a universal concern and receives considerable attention from researchers and academics. Workplace stress may cause poor performance from employees, reduce employee morale, and lead to a lack of autonomy and job insecurity, which will ultimately impact the overall physical, social and psychological well-being of an employee (Hillier, Fewell, Cann, & Shephard, 2005; Khan & Khurshid, 2017; Kopp et al., 2007; Loretto et al., 2005; Strümpfer, Hardy, De Villiers, & Rigby, 2009; Tov & Chan, 2012).

According to Bryson et al. (2015), Lyubomirsky et al. (2005), Tov and Chan (2012) and Zelenski et al. (2008), employee well-being plays an important role in the workplace and better well-being will lead to more productive employees. Workplace factors can have a negative or positive influence on an employee's health and well-being.

In a work setting where there is a lot of pressure and too many demands placed on an employee, the employee may develop workplace stress (Hillier et al., 2005). Although stress is not regarded as a disease, it is defined as a person's natural reaction to extreme and unnecessary pressure and can affect one's health (Backwith & Munn-Giddings, 2003; Sohail & Rehman, 2015). According to Hillier et al. (2005), stress plays a role in healthy functioning, but too much stress can harm an individual and may lead to psychological problems. Negative work experiences, which may cause physical and psychological problems, include physical violence,

injury, disablement, discrimination and unemployment (Strümpfer et al., 2009). Furthermore, high job demands, low control and low autonomy overwork may cause job tension and illness amongst employees (Loretto et al., 2005; Sohail & Rehman, 2015). According to Kopp et al. (2007), negatively perceived events, such as experiences associated with having a low income, job insecurity, job loss, increasing age and other work stressors may lead to mental health conditions such as depression amongst employees. Tension or stressors at work may lead to employee fatigue and burnout (Peeters & Van Emmerik, 2008). Stress at work is also related to feelings of hopelessness, loss of control, cardiovascular problems, mortality and morbidity, especially among men (Kopp et al., 2007). According to Kopp et al. (2007), stress is also linked to early deaths in Europe.

Increasing work demands may cause negative work-life balance, which can hurt personal, environmental and work factors, increasing the risk of psychiatric morbidity among employees (Loretto et al., 2005). Barling (1996) noted that chronic workplace distress is related to negative mood and depressive symptoms. When an employee is exposed to workplace violence regularly, it may cause feelings of anger, anxiety, depressive symptoms, fear, cognitive distraction, emotional numbing, emotional exhaustion, workplace accidents, poor work performance and distraction (Barling, 1996). Silva and Barreto (2010) also noted that high job demands and distress at work are related to anxiety, binge drinking, smoking, absenteeism, coronary heart disease, suicide risk, exhaustion and depression. Long hours at work may lead to poorer sleep, asynchrony with social schedules, increased distress, depression, work-related injuries, hypertension, diabetes, miscarriages, breast cancer and increased divorce rates amongst employees (Kleiner & Pavalko, 2010).

Polanyi, Eakin, Frank, Shannon, and Sullivan (1998) identified four factors that may harm the well-being of employees in the workplace. These factors include (1) external or

societal factors; (2) organisational structure and environment; (3) task requirements; and (4) individual lifestyle. They are discussed below.

2.4.1 External or Societal Factors

External or societal factors include government policies, competition and technology. They also include the provincial, national and international guidelines on human rights and working conditions that may have an impact on any organisation. Every organisation has its own policies, which may have an impact on the internal environment of the organisation, as well as its employees (Polanyi et al., 1998).

With regards to the meat industry, the Human Rights Watch (2004) indicated that it is only the government who may set guidelines for workplace health and safety in the meat industry. The Human Rights Watch (2004) report covers the human rights of beef, pork and poultry workers in the meat industry of the United States (US). This report is concerned with the human rights of workers, their health and safety, freedom of association and the status of the immigrant workers. The report has been compiled through reviewing existing research, in-depth, face-to-face and telephonic interviews and visits to different meatpacking plants in Omaha, Nebraska, Tar Heel, North Carolina and Northwest Arkansas in the US. Interviews were conducted with numerous meat and poultry workers, community organisations and union representatives, workers' compensation attorneys and other professionals. The researchers also studied several documents including legal pleadings, occupational health and safety documents, injury reports, worker's compensation records, academic studies, books on the meat and poultry industry and newspaper and magazine articles (Human Rights Watch, 2004). The Human Rights Watch report indicated that the government agencies are the only ones that may provide strong legal enforcement to discourage employers from violating employee's rights (Human Rights Watch, 2004). Furthermore, only government policy can change the

vulnerable status of immigrant employees in the meat and poultry industry in the US. Unfortunately, the health and safety laws and regulations in the US do not pay enough attention to the serious dangers existing in the meat and poultry industry. The Human Rights Watch report indicates that the laws and agencies that are supposed to protect workers' freedom of association are instead manipulated by employers, which frustrates the organisation of workers. Federal laws and policies on immigrant workers are a tangle of contradictions and incentives to violate their rights. As a result, the US is failing to meet its obligations under international human rights standards to protect the human rights of meat and poultry industry workers (Human Rights Watch, 2004). Although there is a lot of research on the human rights of South African citizens, there is currently a need for more research on the human rights of meat and poultry industry workers in South Africa, as none could be sourced that deal specifically with these issues, as mentioned above.

2.4.2 Structure and Environment of the Organisation

The structure and environment of the organisation refer to the working hours of employees, wages, job security, benefits, approach to health and safety, the physical environment and on-site facilities such as fitness and day-care centres for employees (Polanyi et al., 1998).

According to the South African Occupational Health and Safety Act (85 of 1993), every employer in any workplace should ensure a healthy and safe environment for their employees. The plants and machinery have to be safe and of no risk to employees. Furthermore, employers in South Africa have to provide employees with the necessary training and supervision to ensure the health and safety of employees. According to Ramutloa (2018), employers in the food and beverage industry of South Africa should amongst others, provide their employees with anti-slip footwear and protective clothing, provide employees with gloves to protect them

from cut wounds, employees should receive proper training in the lifting of heavy equipment and there must be proper ventilation to protect employees from biological hazards. A large number of these needs are provided for in the Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points (HACCP) plan that most abattoirs in South Africa have implemented.

According to the report by the Human Rights Watch (2004), employees in the meat and poultry industry in the US work long hours and are more likely to suffer severe, life-threatening and sometimes life-ending injuries than employees in other organisations. A large percentage of these employees do not get compensation for workplace injuries, to which they are entitled. Government laws, regulations, policies and enforcement in the US fail to sufficiently protect meat and poultry workers' health and safety at work and their right to compensation when they sustain injuries (Human Rights Watch, 2004).

2.4.3 Task Requirements

Task requirements include the physical and psychosocial demands of the job. These demands include equipment used, workload, job control and the social support from friends, family and colleagues (Polanyi et al., 1998). The production line of an abattoir moves fast, which is a risk to employee safety (Human Rights Watch, 2004). Workers in the food and beverage industry of South Africa are exposed to numerous on-duty risk factors such as slippery floors, exposure to sharp objects such as knives, lifting of heavy equipment, repetitive work, employees working very close to one another, exposure to noise and exposure to hot and cold working conditions (Ramutloa, 2018). These risk factors may lead to injuries such as slips and fall, cut wounds, sprains and strains and back problems (Ramutloa, 2018). However, in South Africa, the South African Abattoir Association (SAAA) provides training to employees of member abattoirs, although it is not a requirement for an abattoir to be a member of the SAAA. Also, some of these training issues are covered within the HACCP plan.

Similar to South Africa, in the US employees in abattoirs have to repeat thousands of cutting motions with sharp knives, during each work shift, and that puts enormous stress on the employees' backs, shoulders, arms, wrists and hands (Human Rights Watch, 2004). The employees in the abattoir also work close to each other, which may increase the risk of injuries (Human Rights Watch, 2004). The Human Rights Watch (2004) has noted that employees in abattoirs in the US do not always receive enough training and they do not always get the safety equipment they need. There are also some workplace health and safety laws and regulations in the US that do not meet international standards (Human Rights Watch, 2004).

2.4.4 Individual Lifestyle

An individual's lifestyle refers to the basic characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, health history, education, socio-economic history, as well as non-work demands of childcare and eldercare, personal resources or coping skills and social support from family and friends (Polanyi et al., 1998). Typically, slaughterers form part of the poorer socio-economic group in society and they do not always have adequate coping resources, which may influence their general well-being (Fitzgerald, 2010). In the literature, I could not find any studies that compared the experiences of slaughterers according to religion and culture. In the current doctoral study, I will thus draw comparisons between slaughterers who are slaughtering according to different religious slaughtering laws. Although many workplace factors may harm the well-being of employees as indicated above, there are also some positive workplace factors.

2.4.5 Positive Workplace Factors

There are factors at work that contribute to growth in the workplace and have a positive impact on employee well-being. Loretto et al. (2005) and Lyubomirsky et al. (2005) argue that

a positive work-life balance contributes to good health. Boehm and Lyubomirsky (2008) argue that being positive and happy at work will lead to better workplace outcomes. When employees are maintaining positive emotions, this can increase growth and social connection, which can transform their life experiences, including those of work (Fredrickson, 2001). It is important to have interventions at work that address negative workplace factors, which improve psychological health (Michie & Williams, 2003). When employees have support from their colleagues, peers, managers and leaders they gain a sense of autonomy and control, which decreases the risk of psychiatric morbidity (Loretto et al., 2005). If there is limited tension and distress in the workplace, the employees may feel rejuvenated and happier (Peeters & van Emmerik, 2008).

Although there are positive and negative factors in the work environment that impact employee well-being, individuals do not all respond in the same way (Moos, 2002). Workplace adversity can lead to positive outcomes, such as coping skills, confidence and improved relationships for some individuals, however, there may also be negative outcomes, such as post-traumatic stress, depression, exhaustion, anxiety, substance abuse and learned helplessness (Moos, 2002; Silva & Barreto, 2010). People who feel they are in control of their life suffer fewer illnesses and enjoy better psychological health than those who feel they are not in control, whilst those who consistently feel out of control and helpless do not cope well with adversity (Brennon, 2005; Silva & Barreto, 2010).

2.5 The Different Slaughtering Laws

Before evaluating the impact of slaughtering on the well-being of employees in an abattoir, the different religious slaughtering laws need to be described. Religion and eating practices have always been intimately interconnected, as shown in religious texts (Farouk et al., 2014; Havinga, 2010). In South Africa (and to a certain extent, internationally), the two

most important slaughtering laws relate to the Islamic and Jewish faiths, whilst the Christian faith (as well as that of non-believers) have no specific religious requirements except to adhere to the National guidelines and laws. The latter is also applicable to religious slaughtering techniques.

2.5.1 Conventional or Christian Slaughtering Methods

Conventional or Christian slaughtering methods in South Africa typically include stunning with a pneumatic captive bolt gun before the animal is slaughtered (Agbeniga & Webb, 2012). The animals are restrained in a v-shaped metal box, which has an open top and rear gate. They were restrained in an upright position and the animal is stunned on the forehead (Agbeniga & Webb, 2012). Immediately following this, they are released from the box and cut to bleed on the bleeding rail (Agbeniga & Webb, 2012).

2.5.2 Muslim Ritual Slaughtering

Halaal (also known as “lawful” or “permitted”) slaughtering provides meat to the consumer according to the Muslim faith. Halaal meat refers to the food that is lawful to eat in the Muslim faith and Haram is what is forbidden (Havinga, 2010). In the Muslim faith alcohol, non-halaal meat, blood, pork and carrion are haram or considered forbidden because the consumption of these is harmful (Havinga, 2010). Muslims may not eat swine or pork, because they are ritually impure. Islamic law based on the Holy Qur´an and the teachings of Prophet Muhammad detailed in the Hadith dictate the dietary laws of the Islamic community and how animals must be slaughtered to be considered halaal meat (Farouk, 2013; Farouk et al., 2014). This aspect of Halaal slaughtering can be found in the Qur´an in Surah chapter 2, verses 172-173:

> O ye who believe! Eat of the good things that We have provided for you and be grateful to Allah if it is Him ye Worship. He that only forbidden you dead meat, and blood. And the flesh of swine and that on which any other name that been invoked besides that of Allah.

"Halaal" is an Arabic word meaning lawful or what is allowed by the lawgiver (Allah) and halaal ritual slaughter requires the slaughterers to pray before and during the process of slaughtering the animal (Bonne & Verbeke, 2008; Shafi et al., 2009). God needs to be acknowledged before the animal is slaughtered and the slaughterer asks his creator for permission to take the life of one of his creatures (Farouk et al., 2014). The slaughterer then invokes Allah's name while cutting the animal and the most common prayer is 'In the name of Allah; Allah is the greatest'" (Bonne & Verbeke, 2008, p. 42). This prayer is also symbolic of how the slaughtering of this animal is not an act of aggression but simply an act necessitated by the need to feed those in the Islamic community and fulfilled in the name of God (Farouk et al., 2014).

The scriptures related to the Islamic dietary laws are detailed in the Qur´an in Surah chapter 6, verse 118: "So eat of (meats) on which Allah's name hath been pronounced. If ye have faith in His signs". The Qur´an also states in Surah chapter 6, verse 121: "Eat not of (meats) on which Allah's name hath not been pronounced: that would be impiety but the evil one's ever inspire their friends to contend with you if ye were to obey them, ye would indeed be Pagans".

The slaughterer must be a sane, adult Muslim male or female or someone from 'the people of the book' (Bonne & Verbeke, 2008). Some scholars argue that people of the book can be a Jew or a Christian and that the prophet Muhammad used to eat meat prepared by Jews

or Christians (Hussaini, 1993), whilst others disagree with this interpretation and state that only sane, adult Muslims can be ritual slaughterers.

Animals must be slaughtered mindfully and attentively as taught by the Prophet Muhammad, therefore animals are given food and water before they are slaughtered and then a sharp knife is used to sever four vessels in their neck (Farouk et al., 2014). Throughout the slaughter, the slaughterer must mention the name of God with conviction and ensure that the animal is killed humanely and painlessly (Farouk et al., 2014). Islam advocates for the humane treatment of animals throughout the slaughtering process (Bonne &Verbeke, 2008).

The issue of whether stunning is allowed before halaal slaughter is still an area of debate in the Muslim community (Bonne & Verbeke, 2008). Some scholars argue that if stunning does not kill the animal and is used to reduce the suffering of animals then it meets the religious prescriptions laid out in the Qur´an and may be used (Bonne & Verbeke, 2008). However, the common practice in halaal slaughtering is to avoid mechanical stunning and instead to use electrical head-only stunning (Farouk, 2013). There is controversy around slaughtering without stunning as it is considered by some animal rights groups and scientists as more painful for the animals (Farouk, 2013). No pre-slaughter stunning is acceptable for the commercial production of kosher meat. An important difference between halaal and kosher slaughtering is that the animal needs only to be alive to meet the minimum halaal requirement, but to meet the minimum kosher requirements the animal must be alive and conscious (Farouk, 2013).

2.5.3 Jewish Ritual Slaughtering

Jewish dietary laws (kashrut) dictate which foods should be consumed by observant Jews (kosher) (Havinga, 2010). Kosher laws prohibit pork, shellfish and rabbit, have prescriptions for religious slaughter (shechita) and prohibit preparing and consuming dairy products and meat together (Havinga, 2010). Kosher (also known as “ritually pure”)

slaughtering provides meat to the consumer according to the Jewish faith (Farouk et al., 2014). The kosher dietary laws and slaughtering techniques are based on commandments found in the Torah, which have been interpreted and refined by Jewish rabbis (Farouk, 2013; Farouk et al., 2014). Similar to the Muslim faith, an important aspect of slaughtering is whether the animals they slaughter are clean or unclean. According to the Hebrew Bible, Jews need to eat clean animals. As stated in Deuteronomy 14: 3-10:

> Do not eat any detestable thing. These are the animals you may eat: the ox, the sheep, the goat, the deer, the gazelle, the roe deer, the wild goat, the ibex, the antelope and the mountain sheep. You may eat any animal that has a split hoof divided in two and that chews the cud. However, of those that chew the cud or that have a split hoof completely divided you may not eat the camel, the rabbit or the coney. Although they chew the cud, they do not have a split hoof; they are ceremonially unclean for you. The pig is also unclean; although it has a split hoof, it does not chew the cud. You are not to eat their meat or touch their carcasses. Of all the creatures living in the water, you may eat any that has fins and scales. But anything that does not have fins and scales you may not eat; for you it is unclean.

Another important aspect in the Jewish law is ritual slaughter, which is referred to in the Jewish faith as “shechitah”, and a specially trained religious slaughterer in the Jewish faith is called a “shochet”. Before the slaughter, the shochet performs a blessing and a sharp knife, called a “chalaf”, is used to slaughter the animal (Havinga, 2010). The animal is not stunned. The knife must be extremely sharp, with no rough patches, marks or bumpiness. This slaughtering process is considered painless as the animal is slaughtered with a quick, deep stroke across the throat, which renders them unconscious almost immediately.

Although kosher slaughtering does not allow the animal to be stunned before it is cut, many veterinary scientists argue that slaughtering without stunning is considerably more painful for the animal and see kosher slaughtering as unnecessarily cruel (Lerner & Rabello, 2006; Levine, 2011). In fact, New Zealand has a ban on kosher slaughter for these reasons (Levine, 2011). However, Lerner and Rabello (2006) argue that there is no such thing as humane animal slaughter, therefore making shechita as humane as any other slaughtering technique. The ethical debate on animal welfare in kosher slaughtering techniques remains a contentious issue in the meat industry and the Jewish community.

Similar to the law of ritual halaal slaughtering, the slaughtering method of ritual kosher slaughtering must be as humane as possible and the animal should not feel any pain (Shafi et al., 2009). As in the Muslim faith, Jewish slaughterers must pray before and during the slaughtering process (Shafi et al., 2009). The spiritual quality of meat is considerably important in both the Muslim and Jewish community and meat that has been graded well (colour, tenderness, juiciness, etc.) but failed to meet spiritual requirements is considered worthless (Farouk et al., 2014).

According to the Judeo-Islamic perspective of ritual slaughter, the removal of flowing blood is necessary because consuming blood is forbidden because it is considered an impurity (Farouk et al., 2014: Shafi et al., 2009; Zoethout, 2013). Ritual slaughtering ensures the fast and complete draining of the blood because the animal must bleed out completely for the meat to be kosher. It is also vital that the slaughterers soak the meat in salt and water, to remove all the left-over blood (Zoethout, 2013). This aspect of the Jewish slaughtering law can be found in Deuteronomy 12, verses 21-25:

> If the place where the Lord your God chooses to put his Name is too far away from you, you may slaughter animals from the herds and flocks the Lord has given you, as I have commanded you, and in your own towns you may eat as much of them as you want.

> Eat them as you would gazelle or deer. Both the ceremonially unclean and the clean may eat. But be sure you do not eat the blood, because the blood is the life, and you must not eat the life with the meat. You must not eat the blood; pour it out on the ground like water. Do not eat it, so that it may go well with you and your children after you, because you will be doing what is right in the eyes of the Lord.

The last important aspect of the Jewish slaughtering process is that no Jewish person is permitted to eat the sciatic nerve of the animal. It is a time-consuming and expensive process to remove this nerve, and that is why many American slaughterers sell the hindquarters of the animal to non-kosher slaughterers. This aspect of the Jewish slaughtering law can be found in Genesis 32, verses 22-32:

> That night Jacob got up and took his two wives, his two maidservants and his eleven sons and crossed the ford of the Jabbok. After he had sent them across the stream, he sent over all his possessions. So, Jacob was left alone, and a man wrestled with him till daybreak. When the man saw that he could not overpower him, he touched the socket of Jacob's hip so that his hip was wrenched as he wrestled with the man. Then the man said, "Let me go, for it is daybreak." But Jacob replied, "I will not let you go unless you bless me." The man asked him, "What is your name?" "Jacob," he answered. Then the man said, "Your name will no longer be Jacob, but Israel, because you have struggled with God and with men and have overcome." Jacob said, "Please tell me your name." But he replied, "Why do you ask my name?" Then he blessed him there. So, Jacob called the place Peniel, saying, "It is because I saw God face to face, and yet my life was spared." The sun rose above him as he passed Peniel, and he was limping because of his hip. Therefore, to this day the Israelites do not eat the tendon attached to the socket of the hip, because the socket of Jacob's hip was touched near the tendon.

2.6 Biography of an Abattoir Employee

Before looking at the various consequences of the work in an abattoir, I will discuss two biographies of abattoir workers. The one biography depicts psychological problems, whilst the other the physical problems that may develop in the abattoir. The biographies appeared in an interview by Peggy Lowe from the Harvest Public Media, a public radio show in the US reporting on food production and agriculture (Lowe, 2016).

Gabriel was an employee at a pork abattoir in Nebraska where he worked on the production line. Although the work consisted of long hours during the day, he mentioned that the nights were often worse for him. The work caused him to have nightmares. He states:

> You've been working there for three hours, four hours, and you're working so fast and you see the pigs going faster, faster. There are some supervisors, you stop the chain because there's a problem, and they come out yelling, "Let's go! Let's go!" They swear at you, "C'mon, you son of a…"
>
> (Lowe, 2016, p. 1).

Another story is that of Teresa. Teresa, a 31-year-old woman, was working at a pork processing plant in Nebraska. The work was very exhausting with 12-hour shifts seven days a week. She did not have a choice regarding the long hours, because she needed the money to provide for her family. She was a good employee and received the award for employee of the month several times (Lowe, 2016). Teresa worked hard on the line, but then she started experiencing pain in her shoulder. She reported the pain to her supervisors and they told her that she needed to go home. For Teresa that was not an option, because she needed the money. She stated, "The supervisors were very nasty. They wanted everything fast, they wanted to produce a lot of quantity. They didn't care about the people". Teresa did not leave her job, and later when she was pregnant, she mentioned that she was not even allowed bathroom breaks

because they did not want to slow down the production line. Other employees confirmed they were not allowed to go to the bathroom while they were busy on the production line (Lowe, 2016). Later, when Teresa quit her job, she stated:

> When I quit, when I decided to stay home with my babies, I was so angry because my shoulder was bothering me a lot and when I wanted to hold my daughter with my right shoulder, I was not able. I was not even able to tear the food. I was in pain all the time. (Lowe, 2016, p. 1)

It is important to note that the emphasis on the US in this literature review is due to the absence of literature in the South African context. The majority of the studies I found in the literature regarding the well-being of meat industry workers are almost exclusively based in the US and France. Research focusing on the well-being of meat industry workers appears to be almost non-existent in South Africa. Only one thesis and one article based on this area of research could be found (Victor, 2012; Victor & Barnard, 2016).

In the following sections, I will identify and discuss the physical, social and psychological challenges faced by abattoir employees. The reason why I report the physical challenges first is that they are visible, whilst the social or psychological challenges are more difficult to decipher. The physical and social challenges of slaughtering also lead to serious psychological problems (Daly & Morton, 2008; Dillard, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2004) and are included in the literature review.

2.7 The Physical Challenges of Slaughtering

According to the Human Rights Watch (2004), one of the most severe problems for employees in abattoirs is the risk of on-duty injuries. Work in an abattoir can be dangerous due to the long hours and intensive labour, which can be physically and psychologically demanding

(Dalla et al., 2005). The physical demands in an abattoir include repetitive movement, such as lifting, pushing and pulling of heavy equipment, as well as using sharp knives on a high-speed production line. Employees work in cold and damp conditions and inside refrigerators, to assure good quality meat (Human Rights Watch, 2004). Some of the other risk factors in the abattoir include slippery floors; long hours; tiring work; lack of proper training; shortage of or inadequate safety equipment; repetitive motions; cutting with dangerously sharp knives; managers not giving enough attention to safety and health; workstations that are not ergonomically designed and do not accommodate individuals of different sizes; sharp hooks; unavoidable contact with blood, grease, faeces and ingesta; thousands of cutting motions per shift; repetitive stress on worker's bodies; frequent and long overtime hours; threat of dismissal for refusing to work; and awkward standing, stretching, pulling and cutting motions for the duration of the workday (Dillard, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2004; Pearson, 2004; Victor, 2012).

Broadway and Stull (2006) and Human Rights Watch (2004) found that on-duty injuries are more frequent at abattoirs than any other comparable industry. In the US, meat-packing is the most dangerous industry to work in, with an injury and illness rate two and a half to three times higher than the manufacturing average (Broadway & Stull, 2006). In the US, non-fatal injuries, illnesses and traumatic disorders are most frequent amongst abattoir employees (Beirne, 2004). According to Dillard (2008), about 25% of employees become ill or report injuries due to the dangerous work and working conditions in an abattoir. The injury rate may be even higher because some abattoir employees do not report their injuries. Cohidon, Morisseau, Derriennic, Goldberg, and Imbernon (2009) conducted a study on the physical and psychological health of 3000 French meat industry employees. Participants worked in the slaughtering, cutting and boning areas of the meat industry. The study included beef, pork and poultry workers across three districts in Brittany, North-Western France. The participants did

not only include the slaughterers, but also other employees in the meat industry. The data were collected through different questionnaires, namely a biographical questionnaire, the Karasek's 28-item questionnaire and the Nottingham Health ProWle. The researchers found poor levels of health, both physical and emotional, amongst the meat industry employees. Job strain was considered one of the major psychosocial factors that contributed to poorer health amongst the workers. With regards to the employee's physical health, the researchers stated:

> Their risk of accidents is high, especially in slaughtering and cutting large animals; this is among the most dangerous of all French occupations. The use of knives and dangerous machines, the movements and postures required, and slips and falls cause most accidents. (Cohidon et al., 2009, p. 808)

2.7.1 Physical Injuries that May Occur in an Abattoir

The physical demands in the abattoir may lead to problems such as carpal tunnel syndrome (Frost et al., 1998); musculoskeletal disorders (Sundstrup et al., 2014); vibration white finger (an industrial injury triggered by continuous use of vibrating hand-held machinery); cut wounds (Dillard, 2008); sprains/strains; shoulder and back pain (Broadway & Stull, 2006); tendonitis (Pearson, 2004); and laceration injury – an injury caused by the use of knives and other sharp objects on the slaughter line (Cai et al., 2005; Campbell, 1999). Physical injuries and conditions, including carpal tunnel syndrome, tendonitis and trigger finger, occur at a rate at least three times higher than any other industry in the US (Pearson, 2004).

Victor's (2012) Master's thesis explores the influence of slaughtering on the well-being of abattoir workers in South Africa. Data were collected through unstructured interviews, direct observations and personnel records. Interviews were conducted at a large certified halaal abattoir in South Africa with 11 slaughterers (stunners and bleeders), two managers and two supervisors. Victor (2012) made use of thematic analysis to analyse the data. As in the US and

French literature on abattoir workers, Victor (2012) found a link between the work in an abattoir and the physical well-being of abattoir employees. The participants in the study noted that their work was physically uncomfortable, hot, dirty and noisy. The participants also mentioned that the wild animals, sharp knives, slippery floors and high-speed production line made their jobs more dangerous, which led to on-duty injuries, such as cuts or wounds. Victor (2012) also examined the records of the stunners and compared it to the records of other workers in the abattoir. She found that out of the 28 slaughterers working on the stunning floor, 16 injuries were reported in the last year, whilst only one injury was reported amongst the other 27 workers in the abattoir who did not work in the stunning area.

A physical condition often found amongst slaughterers in an abattoir is carpal tunnel syndrome. Carpal tunnel syndrome may cause upper extremity musculoskeletal disorders in employees in the general workplace (Roquelaure et al., 2008). Symptoms of carpal tunnel syndrome include numbness, tingling, weakness, and other peripheral, mononeuropathy related symptoms (Frost et al., 1998). Carpal tunnel syndrome is triggered by the compression of the median nerve as it passes into the hand and results in swelling inside the wrist (Palmer, 2011). According to LeBlanc and Cestia (2011), carpal tunnel syndrome affects 3–6% of the general population. The syndrome may develop very quickly, or it may take years to develop, however it depends on how intense the activity was that caused the injury (Jagga, Lehri, & Verma, 2011). Kim, Kim, Son, and Yun (2004) examined the prevalence of carpal tunnel syndrome among 143 employees working in meat and fish processing plants in Korea. Of the 143 participants, 69 were part of the experimental group. Their jobs included repetitive movements of the hands, uncomfortable positions in which they used their hands and the use of vibrating hand-held machinery for more than eight hours per day. The 28 participants who formed part of the control group were the managers and secretaries. The rest of the 143 participants formed part of the exclusion group and included those participants who suffered from thyroid disease,

diabetes, and carpal tunnel syndrome. Carpal tunnel syndrome symptoms were measured using a questionnaire and researchers found that 73.9% of the participants in the experimental group showed signs of work-related carpal tunnel syndrome (Kim et al., 2004). They also indicated that the work in meat and fish plants should be classified as a high-risk occupation because of their findings (Kim et al., 2004).

According to Musolin, Ramsey, Wassell, Hard, and Mueller (2014), the centre for Disease Control and Prevention found a 42% prevalence of carpal tunnel syndrome among poultry slaughterhouse workers in South Carolina in the US. Researchers found that 39% of the poultry workers had hand or wrist symptoms (pain, numbness or burning) and 57% of the workers reported that they have at least one musculoskeletal symptom. Because of these findings, poultry slaughtering work has been classified as high-risk work (Musolin et al., 2014). In a similar report, researchers compared the prevalence of carpal tunnel syndrome in 287 poultry-processing Latino workers with 226 other manual labour Latino workers in North Carolina in the US (Cartwright et al., 2012). The manual labourers worked in restaurants, hotels, childcare, manufacturing, construction and landscaping. Data was collected through interviews and via seven data collection clinics. The researchers found a 48% prevalence of carpal tunnel syndrome amongst poultry processing employees, compared to 26.6% amongst the manual labour employees. The higher prevalence of carpal tunnel syndrome amongst the poultry-processing workers may be due to the hard physical and repetitive nature of their work (Cartwright et al., 2012). The 48% prevalence of carpal tunnel syndrome amongst these employees was similar to the 42% prevalence amongst employees in Musolin et al.'s (2014) study but not as high as compared to the 73.9% prevalence rate in the Kim et al. (2004) study. It can, therefore, be hypothesised that poultry slaughterhouse workers and workers in the meat and fish industry have a higher risk for developing carpal tunnel syndrome than employees in any other occupation.

Cai et al. (2005) evaluated the occurrence of laceration injuries in two large pig abattoirs in the US for three years. The researchers found that the injury rate amongst the employees was 3–14 injuries per year. They also found that most of the injuries were amongst employees working on the "kill floor", the floor where the slaughtering occurs (Cai et al., 2005). Leibler and Perry (2017) conducted in-person interviews with a cross-sectional sample of beef packing employees at a large industrial beef packing plant in the Midwestern US. The researchers investigated the acute or chronic workplace injuries amongst the employees and how they affected their daily life. The results showed that 15.1% of the employees indicated that they experienced work-related injuries (Leibler & Perry, 2017). These injuries required time off work, job transfers, and restrictions during the past three months. Almost 50% of the injuries were due to the rapid pace at work, and another 20% of the injuries were due to repetitive work. The use of metal mesh sleeves and metal mesh gloves are also related to the high risk of injury, as is the use of carbon steel for knife sharpening. The researchers also examined psychological distress in the abattoir, by using the Kessler-6 scale. They wanted to know if occupational injuries were related to psychological distress amongst employees, however, they found no link (Leibler & Perry, 2017). However, many abattoirs in the US are in economically disadvantaged communities, and employees may be afraid to report their injuries out of fear of losing their jobs, therefore there may be more physical injuries associated with working in abattoirs than is currently being reported (Human Rights Watch, 2004).

From the above literature, it is evident that workers in the meat and poultry industry are exposed to numerous on-duty job risks and constraints daily. Slaughterers in abattoirs are at high-risk for developing physical injuries and other musculoskeletal disorders, which is why to work in the meat industry is classified as one of the most dangerous occupations in both France and the US (Cohidon et al., 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2004). Research on the meat industry in South Africa focuses mainly on the quality and production of meat (Chulayo et al.,

2012) and not on the well-being of the employees. As a result, this current doctoral thesis addresses a significant gap in the literature surrounding the meat industry and abattoir workers in South Africa.

As far as the methodology of the above studies is concerned, data were mostly conducted through questionnaires and few studies made use of interviews. Since the literature on the well-being of abattoir employees (especially those working on the kill floor) is limited, and in South Africa almost non-existent, it would be beneficial to do more qualitative studies on the well-being of these employees. Qualitative research, using in-depth, interviews is an appropriate way to obtain a deeper understanding of the lives and experiences of the employees working on the "kill floor" of an abattoir. This doctoral study will make a valuable contribution to the South African, as well as international literature as it is a qualitative study focusing on the well-being of slaughterers.

Researchers argue that employees who continue to sustain serious physical injuries at work often report psychological problems, such as flashbacks, nightmares, avoidance, fear of death or re-injury, depression, irritability, disgust, hostility and cosmetic concerns (Fitzgerald et al., 2009; Jacques, 2015; MacDonald, Colotla, Flamer, & Karlinsky, 2003). The violent nature of the work in an abattoir may also lead to violence amongst employees and intimate partner violence (Fitzgerald et al., 2009; Jacques, 2015). In the following section, I will explore the literature relating to the social challenges of abattoir employees.

2.8 The Social Challenges of Slaughtering

The main theme in the literature review on the relationship between slaughtering and social challenges in abattoir employees is the occurrence of violent behaviour both inside and outside the abattoir. Research suggests that there may be a link between the violent nature of

slaughtering animals for human consumption and the increase in violent behaviour amongst abattoir workers (Fitzgerald et al., 2009; Jacques, 2015; Victor & Barnard, 2016).

Violent behaviour is a leading cause of other psychological problems. MacNair (1999) argues that humans have a natural resistance to killing, which can be seen in soldiers. For example, Dave Grossman, a former lieutenant-colonel in the United States Army, has written about the psychological dimensions of killing (Grossman, 1995). He argues that many veterans may become emotionally scarred because of killing others in war since it is unnatural. Grossman (1995) is often criticised for this argument, but his work is still widely cited by academics. Although killing in war is not the same as killing animals for human consumption, both occupations involve killing, and the consequences of the work may, therefore, be similar. Dillard (2008), similarly to Grossman (1995), argues that placing people in a position of consistently violating their natural preference to avoid killing is likely to have negative psychological consequences.

Another argument found in the literature is that mild exposure to animal cruelty leads to an increase in empathy, while chronic exposure to animal cruelty leads to the disintegration of empathy (Daly & Morton, 2008; Dillard, 2008; Victor & Barnard, 2016). Work in the animal industry may, therefore, lower a person's ability to practice empathy and consider the painful experiences of the animals in the abattoir. This has dangerous consequences for the psyche of abattoir workers and can be hypothesised to encourage violent behaviour. Beirne's (2004) study indicates that some abattoir workers report that when they slaughter animals in the abattoir, it makes them feel capable of harming or even killing human beings. Similarly, Henry (2004) found that animal cruelty is associated with the development of general insensitivity to the well-being of another person. Beirne (2004) also mentions that people who perpetrate violence against animals may be diagnosed with conduct disorders. However, it is important to distinguish between animal cruelty and the slaughtering of animals for human consumption.

This can be a difficult distinction to make as this dichotomy is infused with different moral systems. One moral system would have you believe that any violence against animals, even for food production, is inherently evil, whilst other moral systems would argue that violence against animals for food production is the natural cycle of life and unavoidable. As a researcher, it is important to recognise any biases, prejudice or moral systems throughout the research process. I kept this in mind during the research process and this literature review endeavours to produce a balanced review of the literature surrounding this topic.

2.8.1 The Spillover Effect

According to Baron and Straus (1987), Fitzgerald et al. (2009) and Flynn (2002), the spillover theory suggests that the socially legitimate practice of violence in one context, such as corporal punishment, may spill over to other forms of violence. These examples may not necessarily be the same as abattoir conditions but aim to confirm the possibility that a spillover effect from one violent setting to another may occur.

The 1906 novel, "The Jungle", by Upton Sinclair, is probably the earliest document, which references the working conditions in abattoirs (Victor & Barnard, 2016). Although the novel was published more than a century ago, it is still often quoted by abattoir managers and researchers. In the novel, there is a graphic description of the unpleasant and dangerous working conditions in abattoirs in Chicago at the turn of the previous century (Sinclair, 1906). During the early 1900s, Sinclair lived in Chicago in a community surrounded by abattoirs. Sinclair noticed unusually high crime rates in the community, and he hypothesised that the violent and cruel nature of employment in an abattoir had a spillover effect on the community and contributed to violence and social problems (Sinclair, 1906). In the novel, Sinclair suggests that working in the abattoirs desensitised employees to violence and that the rates of murder, rape and violence in the community increased because of this mass desensitisation (Barmak,

2010; Sinclair, 1906). This effect is called the "spillover theory" and is still researched and used as the basis of studies today, as can be seen in the work of Eisnitz (2009), Fitzgerald et al. (2009), Jacques (2015) and Victor and Barnard (2016).

The spillover theory is present in the only South African study on the well-being of slaughterers at abattoirs. Victor and Barnard's (2016) hermeneutic phenomenological study on the consequences of killing on the psychological well-being of slaughterers, based on Victor's (2012) Master's thesis, also found the prevalence of the spillover effect. The study was conducted on the slaughter floor of a large commercial, Halaal-certified abattoir in South Africa. Purposive, convenience sampling was used to identify five stunners and six bleeders to participate in the study. The researchers also interviewed two managers on the slaughter floor. Data were collected with unstructured interviews, as well as direct observation of employees on the slaughter floor and reviewing personnel records (Victor & Barnard, 2016). According to the researchers, the industrial killing of animals may have psychological and social consequences for employees. With regards to the spillover theory, they found that fatigue and stress lead to violence and abuse at home, in particular, intimate partner violence. One participant in their study stated:

> I've got a short temper. When I'm alone sitting, thinking maybe if you could fight with my wife, what am I going to do about it, I'm not afraid anymore. I'm killing thousands of cattle; hey I kill 800 or 900 cattle, it's nothing that's gonna stop me to shoot only one person. (Victor & Barnard, 2016, p. 9)

Similarly, Eisnitz's (2009) study also confirmed the spillover theory amongst abattoir employees as interviews indicated that workers made the cognitive link between killing animals and an increase in their own aggressive behaviour.

The study by Fitzgerald et al. (2009) was based on the original theory of Upton Sinclair and aimed to test "Sinclair's theory" or "spillover theory" quantitatively. Fitzgerald et al. (2009) compared their data to comparable populations employed in factory-like operations, for example, truck trailer manufacturing, iron and steel forging and motor vehicle metal stamping. Fitzgerald et al. (2009) compared the prevalence of violence in the abattoir and the surrounding communities with violence in the other manufacturing industries and nearby communities. The researchers observed 581 non-metropolitan counties in the US from 1994 to 2002. They focused on the relationship between the number of people employed in the abattoir industry in the county and various types of crime. They suggested that there might be more crime and violent behaviour in areas where there are more abattoirs. They hypothesised that the violent work conditions in the abattoir may be related to other problems such as depression, drug abuse, crime and divorce.

Fitzgerald et al. (2009) found that abattoir employment is related to increased total arrest rates, arrests for violent crimes, burglary, assault, robbery, offences against family, rape, and other sex offences in surrounding communities. There were also disturbing increases in sex offences, domestic violence and child abuse in these communities. Fitzgerald et al. (2009) also found that these numbers are higher than in other manufacturing industries and their surrounding communities. Furthermore, an average-sized abattoir increased the annual arrest rate by 2.24% and the crime report rate by 4.69% of a nearby community (Fitzgerald et al., 2009). The results of this study thus confirmed Sinclair's theory of a spillover effect of violence from one setting to another and we can therefore reasonably accept that institutionalised violence in abattoirs may have a spillover effect in other domains of life.

Like Fitzgerald et al. (2009), Jacques (2015) conducted a study in the US on the relationship between violence and abattoir work, showing the presence of a spillover effect. Although her study focused on different types of violence, she found a strong relationship

between the prevalence of rape in a community and the presence of an abattoir. Jacques (2015) found that in areas where there was an abattoir, there was an increase in rapes in those areas.

The spillover effect of violence in one setting to violence in another can also be found in military personnel, prison guards and in communities where the death penalty is an accepted form of punishment. Although these are not the same as killing animals for human consumption, it also involves killing and therefore the influence of these occupations on an individual may be similar. MacNair (2002) found that soldiers may be more violent after they return from war, and argued that research conducted on abattoir employees should be similar to that on military workers, as they may also tend to be more violent. In the following section, I will explore and identify the psychological challenges that may be related to working in an abattoir.

2.9 The Psychological Challenges of Slaughtering

International studies on the psychological well-being of slaughterers are limited, and in South Africa almost non-existent (Dorovskikh, 2015; Leibler & Perry, 2017; Victor & Barnard, 2016). There are, however, a few research articles which contain important information that needs to be acknowledged, analysed, and further researched (Dorovskikh, 2015; Victor & Barnard, 2016). While the dangerous work and high demands in the abattoir industry may lead to physical injuries and social problems amongst the slaughterers, numerous slaughterers also suffer psychological harm. The psychological harm suffered by slaughterers is mainly due to the serious physical health hazards and violent work conditions experienced daily (Daly & Morton, 2008; Dillard, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2004). Some somatic and psychological symptoms are also found amongst abattoir employees, for example, fatigue, back pain, stress, locomotive symptoms (Kristensen, 1991), post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and perpetration induced traumatic stress (PITS) (Dillard, 2008; Victor & Barnard, 2016). Barmak

(2010) stated that the exposure to the industrialised killing of large numbers of animals daily led to employees becoming disturbed and losing empathy. In the following sections, I will discuss the psychological disorders identified in abattoir employees.

2.9.1 Psychological Disorders and the Abattoir

There are only a few studies in the international literature that focus on the psychological well-being of abattoir employees (Dillard, 2008; Emhan, Yildiz, Bez, & Kingir, 2012; Leibler, Janulewicz, & Perry, 2017) and only one in the South African literature (Victor & Barnard, 2016).

Abattoir employees are increasingly reporting symptoms of anxiety and PTSD. Emhan et al. (2012) found symptoms of anxiety in abattoir employees in the Diyarbakir province in South-Eastern Turkey. They tested a hypothesis that slaughterers in an abattoir had more psychological problems than employees in any other occupations. To test the hypothesis, the researchers used three groups: 43 slaughterers in an abattoir; 39 butchers in meat processing and meatpacking in a supermarket; and 82 office workers (the control group) (Emhan et al., 2012). The Symptom Checklist-90-R (SCL-90-R) scale was administered to the groups. This scale tested for a broad spectrum of psychological symptoms. The data showed much higher levels of psychological distress in the slaughterers than the control group, thus supporting the hypothesis that slaughterers have more psychological problems than workers in other occupations. Additionally, the slaughterers in the abattoir showed higher levels of psychological symptoms, such as anxiety, aggression and anxiety phobias, than employees working in meat processing and meatpacking in a supermarket (Emhan et al., 2012).

In an above-mentioned study, Leibler and Perry (2017) explored the risk factors for occupational injury in an industrial beef packing plant in the Midwestern US. In the study, they also examined whether there might be a link between occupational injury and serious

psychological distress. However, they did not find a link between the two. In a more recent study, Leibler et al. (2017) used the same US population to assess the prevalence of serious psychological distress amongst these employees. The researchers conducted interviews with the participants and used the Kessler-6 (K6) scale to assess the prevalence of serious psychological distress. They then compared their results with US population-wide estimates. Leibler et al. (2017) determined that the prevalence of serious psychological distress among beef packing workers was 4.4%, which is higher than the 3.6% national estimate in the US. The prevalence of mild and moderate psychological distress amongst beef packing workers was 14.6%, which is also higher than the national estimate in the US. However, they also found that occupational injury, work area and job activities were not related to serious psychological distress. The researchers concluded that workers at the beef packing plant may experience higher levels of serious psychological distress than workers in any other occupation in the US, but they did not identify the occupational risk factors that may lead to serious psychological distress. Leibler et al. (2017) also indicated that it would be beneficial for beef packing workers to have access to adequate mental health services as it would improve their health and well-being.

Based on the outcomes of the studies by Emhan et al. (2012) and Leibler et al. (2017), I can thus argue that the work in an abattoir might lead to serious psychological disorders and it is necessary to do more research in this area. Other psychological disorders that are frequent in the abattoir are PTSD and PITS. In the following sections, I will discuss these disorders in relation to abattoir employee studies.

2.9.2 PTSD and PITS

According to the American Psychiatric Association (DSM-V, 2013), PTSD can be diagnosed when someone has experienced or observed a traumatic event. The person may then

experience at least one symptom in the following symptom groups, namely: avoidance (trauma-related thoughts or feelings; trauma-related external reminders of places, people, conversations, activities, objects, or situations); and intrusion (traumatic nightmares; recurrent memories; flashbacks; intense or prolonged distress after exposure to traumatic reminders; marked physiologic reactivity after exposure to trauma-related stimuli). The person should at least experience two of the symptoms in the following symptom groups: negative alterations in cognitions and mood (inability to recall key features of the traumatic event; persistent (and often distorted) negative beliefs and expectations about oneself or the world; persistent distorted blame of self or others for causing the traumatic event or for resulting consequences; persistent negative trauma-related emotions such as fear, horror, anger, guilt, or shame; feeling alienated from others; persistent inability to experience positive emotions); and alterations in arousal and reactivity (irritable or aggressive behaviour; self-destructive or reckless behaviour; hypervigilance; exaggerated startled response; problems in concentration; and sleep disturbance) (DSM-V, 2013).

There are further criteria that look at the duration of the symptoms, a criterion that assesses functioning, and a criterion that clarifies symptoms as not attributable to a substance or co-occurring medical condition (DSM-V, 2013). PTSD is caused by a stressor that can be activated by indirect or direct exposure, or the witnessing of death; threatened death; actual or threatened serious injury; or actual or threatened sexual violence (DSM-V, 2013). When the duration of the above-mentioned symptoms is persistent for more than one month, a diagnosis of PTSD can be made (DSM-V, 2013). There is also a PTSD Checklist for DSM-5 (PCL-5), that can be used to assess the prevalence of PTSD symptoms. According to this scale, the maximum score that someone could obtain for a diagnosis of PTSD is 80. When someone has a score of 33 or higher, further assessment is needed to make a diagnosis of PTSD (DSM-V, 2013).

PITS is related to PTSD. However, while PTSD is caused by being a victim of a traumatic situation, PITS develops when the person himself/herself is responsible for the traumatic situation (Dillard, 2008). When someone causes harm to another, this can be a stressor leading to PITS. However, there is not enough research available that considers the stressful impact of being the perpetrator. According to the literature, people who suffer from PITS include war veterans and Nazis (MacNair, 1999); people who euthanise animals (Rohlf & Bennett, 2005); and abattoir employees (Dillard, 2008). Some of the symptoms of PITS may include anxiety; depression; dissociation or amnesia; panic; paranoia and a sense of disintegration; violent and recurring dreams; and drug and alcohol abuse (MacNair, 1999).

The only study that focused on the psychological well-being of abattoir employees in South Africa found that participants presented with symptoms of PTSD. In their hermeneutic phenomenological study on the consequences of killing on the psychological well-being of slaughterers, Victor and Barnard (2016) found symptoms of anxiety and PTSD such as repetitive thoughts and nightmares; substance abuse; self-harm; feelings of guilt, shame and sadness; anxious thoughts; aggression; sleep disorders; depression; concentration difficulty; loss of interest and memory loss. They, however, found that most of these symptoms were only present for a few weeks or months and after a while the slaughterers indicated that they became accustomed to their work and experienced a loss of emotion relating to their work.

Sleep disturbance is characterised by insomnia and bad dreams and is often found amongst slaughterers. A slaughterhouse employee wrote in his blog about employees (including himself) that abattoir workers suffer from work-related nightmares (Butler, 2003). Furthermore, people that are stressed at work, including abattoir employees, may suffer from sleep disturbance (Hillier et al., 2005). According to Lowis (2010), it is however not unusual to dream of work experiences in any occupation.

As mentioned above, the data in Victor and Barnard's (2016) study was collected via unstructured interviews, as well as direct observation of employees on the slaughter floor and an overview of personnel records (Victor & Barnard, 2016). There are, however, shortcomings in their study. Their study only included a small sample size and was thus not representative of the whole abattoir association of South Africa. In the current doctoral study, the sample size is much larger and includes most of the red meat abattoirs in the Western Cape province of South Africa. The study by Victor and Barnard (2016) did not compare the slaughterers from the different slaughtering practices regarding their different religious faiths, another aspect that I have explored in the current doctoral study.

Dillard (2008) wrote a legal essay about the lives of US abattoir employees and the psychological harm that they might suffer due to the impact of their work. She also identifies symptoms of PTSD and PITS (including drug and alcohol abuse) in abattoir employees. Dillard (2008) indicated that alcohol and substance abuse is a serious problem amongst slaughterers, which is often used to cope with the challenges and high demands of their jobs. According to Pearson (2004) and Schlosser (2002), the stress and high pace of production lines cause abattoir employees to use or become dependent on drugs such as "speed" or methamphetamines. In her legal essay, Dillard (2008, p. 397) offers a statement from a former hog-sticker (a person that slaughters pigs) regarding alcohol abuse:

> A lot of the slaughterhouse hog killers have problems with alcohol. They have to drink, they have no other way of dealing with killing live, kicking animals all day long. If you stop and think about it, you're killing several thousand beings a day.

Another former abattoir employee, in the interview by Eisnitz (2009), gave a similar statement:

> I actually thought I was going crazy at one point. I'd hit the bar after work every day, pound down four or five beers, come home and just sit and stare off into space through three or four more. If I talked at all, it was to bitch and chew. I was a SOB, royally. I mean gold-plated. My wife thought all this was directed at her. I'd want to tell her the truth, find the right words so she'd really understand, but I never could. Little things would set me off. I was putting a new alternator belt on my wife's car and the wrench slipped and I gouged my knuckle. I stood back and had a fit beating that car. I was beating it, kicking it, screaming at it. It was like I'd lost my mind. (Eisnitz, 2009, p. 61)

In his book, Dave Grossman (1995) studied the general experiences of war veterans. Even though every soldier is unique, and although they may have different experiences, Grossman (1995) argued that numerous soldiers who have killed in war may go through three stages of reaction. The first stage is a sense of satisfaction or euphoria, like that experienced by hunters. Not everyone who has killed another person will experience this stage but many authors have reported on this sensation (MacNair, 2007; Nadelson, 1992; Solursh, 1988). Some soldiers do not experience the first stage but go directly to the second stage, namely the stage of remorse. This stage may lead to mental health problems (Grossman, 1995). The last stage is the stage of rationalisation. In this stage, the soldier tries to make sense of the killing, and this stage can occupy the rest of the soldier's life (Grossman, 1995).

Rachel MacNair's (2002) study supports the findings of Dave Grossman (1995). MacNair (2002) used data that were collected from 1638 participants of the National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Study (NVVRS), a government-sponsored survey of Vietnam veterans. MacNair (2002) decided to re-analyse this data to establish whether there were any differences between the veterans who disclosed that they had killed someone during the war and those who had not. However, since many of the interviews were conducted more than a decade after the

war, it may be possible that the perceptions of the veterans were biased. Even though that may be the case, MacNair (2002) still found significant differences in PTSD, as measured by the Mississippi Scale for Combat-Related PTSD (Keane, Caddell, & Taylor, 1988). The maximum score for PTSD according to the Mississippi Scale for Combat PTSD is 175. The cut-off point for diagnosing PTSD according to the Mississippi Scale is validated for some populations but may not be generalised to other populations.

MacNair (2002) found that the average PTSD score for the 621 veterans who reported that they had killed someone was 93.4, as compared to 71.9 for the 932 veterans who reported that they did not kill anyone during the war. Scores were even higher for those who had killed citizens. Macnair (2002) found an average PTSD score of 105.6 for the 272 veterans who reported that they were involved in killing citizens. In contrast, she found a PTSD score of 79.4 for the 157 veterans who reported that they had only seen killings of citizens. The results are clear: those who had killed had higher PTSD scores than those who had not killed, and those who had killed non-combatant citizens had even higher scores. Of course, unseen and unimportant variables might explain such differences, so MacNair (2002) conducted further analysis to ensure that her results could not be explained by other variables such as the intensity of combat experienced by the respondents (soldiers in more intense combat would have a greater chance to kill). With these additional layers to her analysis, she showed that elevated PTSD scores were correlated with killing in combat even when the intensity of combat was controlled, but she was unable to determine if the elevated PTSD scores were caused by seeing the results of the killing; thinking about the killing; the lack of social support and disapproval of those involved in killing; or simply because the respondents with higher scores had been involved in more killings than those with lower PTSD scores. Although this study focused on soldiers, MacNair (2002) also includes abattoir employees and indicated that they may also be vulnerable to developing PTSD and PITS.

2.9.3 Doubling

Doubling is a psychological condition found in abattoir employees. According to Dillard (2008) the psychological condition of "doubling" was first identified in Nazi doctors. Doubling is the division of the self into two functioning wholes. With regards to Nazis, one whole was capable of evil behaviour such as killing, while the other whole was a compassionate, caring doctor and loving family man. Doubling was the way these Nazi doctors made sense of their work and home lives, which stood in contrast to each other. Although the work of Nazi doctors is not the same as the work in an abattoir, doubling was also identified in abattoir employees, where one part of the person is capable of the cruel and harsh killing of animals, while the other part continues normally with his life (Dillard, 2008). Victor and Barnard (2016) found doubling in their study, which one participant indicating that he could separate his work identity from his self. He stated, "You can divide yourself into two lives. Inside you are like this and outside you are different" (Victor & Barnard, 2016, p. 8).

2.9.4 Antisocial Behaviour and Cruelty

Animals often suffer the cruellest fate at the hands of their handlers (Dillard, 2008; Fiala, 2008). Some employees become so desensitised that they purposely engage in cruel behaviour for entertainment value (Dillard, 2008). There is already a well-established understanding that taking pleasure in cruelty is an antisocial or psychotic characteristic (Dillard, 2008; Henry, 2004). Many testimonies are available of abattoir employees who have inflicted pain on animals as a source of entertainment, which indicates that working in an abattoir may cause psychological harm amongst slaughterers (Dillard, 2008). Victor and Barnard's (2016) study also found that abattoir workers showed cruel behaviour towards the animals they were slaughtering. In the legal essay by Dillard (2008, p. 398), an abattoir employee stated:

> The worst thing, worse than the physical danger is the emotional toll. If you work in that stick pit for any period of time, you develop an attitude that lets you kill things, but doesn't let you care. You may look a hog in the eye that's walking around down in the blood pit with you and think, God, that really isn't a bad looking animal. You may want to pet it. Pigs down on the kill floor have come up and nuzzled me like a puppy. Two minutes later I had to beat them to death with a pipe. I can't care.

With regards to the above studies, it is clear that serious psychological problems and many symptoms of PTSD and PITS may occur in abattoir employees. However, more research is needed to discover what precisely causes these psychological conditions, whether it is occupational risk factors, the nature of the work or due to other factors in the employee's communities. More research is also needed to discover what psychological conditions are most frequent amongst employees in an abattoir, and the duration of these conditions and when the symptoms occur. Victor and Barnard (2016) found in their study that many employees in abattoirs experience a loss of emotion and may suffer long-term psychological consequences due to the nature of their work. Although there are some studies in the international literature addressing the issue of the physical harm suffered by abattoir employees, fewer studies are dealing with the psychological well-being of slaughterers. In South Africa, only one study has been conducted, thus this thesis will fill a significant gap in South African literature. Most of the above-mentioned studies made use of quantitative methodology and since there is limited information available about the psychological harm suffered by abattoir employees, a qualitative research design would be an appropriate choice for this study as little information is available on this topic, and in-depth interviews facilitate a deeper understanding of the inner lives of these workers.

Previous literature also does not specifically focus on the slaughterers who kill the animals as they usually include all workers on the slaughter line. It was only the South African study by Victor and Barnard (2016) which indicated that the participants in their study were stunners and bleeders working on the "kill floor" of the abattoir. The current study will specifically focus on the well-being of the slaughterers who are killing the animals, therefore helping address a significant gap in the literature. Additionally, the above studies did not make a distinction between the different religious slaughtering groups, which the current doctoral study does. There are valuable differences between these groups regarding their experiences and viewpoints of their work. The current study bridges this gap and compares the experiences of ritual Muslim, Jewish and secular slaughterers and explores the influence of their work on their well-being.

2.10 Coping with the Trauma of Slaughtering Animals

The review of the literature so far has indicated that the slaughtering of animals may influence the physical, social and psychological well-being of slaughterers and may be a traumatic event. It is thus important to explore how the slaughterers cope with the trauma of their job. There are only a few studies on the coping strategies used by abattoir employees, highlighting the need for research such as that of this doctoral study. However, it is clear from these studies that slaughterers have limited coping strategies and resources to cope with the challenges and heavy demands of their job. This may be due to their poor socio-economic background, lack of safety equipment at work and inadequate training (Fitzgerald, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2004).

According to Agaibi and Wilson (2005), some individuals may be unable to control the psychological impact of traumatic stressors and may suffer significant physical and psychological health symptoms, whilst others can rebound and experience little or no change

in their functioning. These latter individuals demonstrate psychological resiliency, that is, effective adaptation and coping in the face of adversity (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2004). Lazarus (1966) first introduced the construct of coping, and according to Lazarus (1993), a resilient person perceives a stressful situation as being less threatening. The psychological literature suggests that some people have more stress-resilient personalities than others. Those with stress-resilient personalities suffer significantly less physical and psychological health problems in response to a traumatic event than those who do not have stress-resilient personalities. The positive characteristics that lead to a stress-resilient personality include optimism, hardiness, positive emotionality, ego resilience, and hope (Seligman, 1998; Tugade & Fredrickson, 2004).

Several theorists argue that there are two major ways of coping, namely problem-focused and emotion-focused coping. Problem-focused coping is an active way of coping and involves strategies such as: managing or changing the situation, solving the problem, seeking instrumental social support, seeking information, planning, and direct action (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongis, & Gruen, 1986). Emotion-focused coping, on the other hand, refers to a person's attempts to manage the emotions that are related to the stressful or traumatic situation. Emotion-focused coping include strategies such as distancing, minimising, seeking emotional social support, self-control, self-blame, venting, acceptance, avoidance, turning to religion, and positive reframing (Folkman et al., 1986). Carver, Scheier, and Weintraub (1989), however, suggest that there should be a third style of coping, namely avoidance focused coping. This coping style includes strategies that were previously seen as emotion-focused strategies and include distraction, venting, behavioural and mental disengagement, alcohol and drug use, and denial (Carver et al., 1989; Gutiérrez, Peri, Torres, Caseras, & Valdés, 2007).

Social support can be further divided into emotional, esteem, instrumental, and informational support. Emotional support refers to the availability of someone with whom the slaughterers can discuss problems, share feelings and talk about concerns. Esteem support is when someone encourages you, believes in you and reminds you of your strengths. Instrumental support is when someone does something practical for you to make your life easier, for example, gives you advice (Schwarzer, Knoll, & Rieckmann, 2003).

Although there is not much research on the coping strategies of abattoir employees, the South African study by Victor and Barnard (2016) identify some of the coping strategies of abattoir employees. These include psychological defences, finding strength and meaning, relying on social support from family and friends, holidays and breaks from the job, sport and entertainment, and negative coping methods. The psychological defences refer to emotional detachment and employees feeling invincible (Victor & Barnard, 2016). One participant in Victor and Barnard's (2016) study referred to a total loss of emotion he observed while working in the abattoir. He states, "We had an incident last night; someone was cut in the stunning area, by one of his friends. He didn't even say sorry. He said it was an accident, turned around and continued cutting open the cattle" (Victor & Barnard, 2016, p. 8). Abattoir employees in Victor and Barnard's (2016) study spoke of other coping strategies such as doubling and the development of an inflated sense of ego. Like the concept of doubling, Desrochers, Hilton, and Larwood (2005) indicated that if work and family life are too closely integrated, it might lead to negative consequences such as work-family conflict, stress, increased distractions, depression, and unhappiness with both work and family life. It is thus important to have a balance between work and family life to cope with daily work challenges (Desrochers et al., 2005).

According to Victor and Barnard (2016), Muslim employees generally coped well with the high demands and challenges of their work, due to their religious activities. Some of the

participants spoke about how they found meaning through prayer and reading scriptures in the Quran. The Christian abattoir employees in their study also indicated that their religion helped them to cope and they found strength through constant prayer and their Lord. Using religion as a coping strategy demonstrates positive reframing because the slaughterers used religion and prayer to positively deal with their negative work challenges. Walsh (2012) speaks about positive reframing and she identified spiritual resources such as prayer and having a strong faith as important features of resilience.

Social support from co-workers, family and friends also played a very important role in the lives of the participants in the study by Victor and Barnard (2016). Similarly, Walsh (2012) indicated that informal social support from family and friends is an important coping strategy and factor of resilience. Halbesleben (2010) and Schaufeli and Salanova (2007) indicated that certain job resources such as social support from colleagues and supervisors are positively associated with better engagement from employees in the workplace. Doe (2014) indicated that communication misunderstandings in the workplace may lead to frustration and conflict. Doe (2014) argues that effective communication in the workplace leads to an increase in productivity, a decrease in errors, and support operations may run more efficiently. The participants in Victor and Barnard's (2016) study also mentioned sport and entertainment activities as a way to cope and relieve stress.

Another coping strategy for employees found in the literature is job rotation. Erikson and Ortega (2004) indicated that employees who are regularly rotated learn more about different sectors of the job and employers can learn more about their employees and which positions are more suitable to them. Furthermore, Erikson and Ortega (2004) found that job rotation helps defeat workplace boredom and helps motivate employees. Other studies that emphasise the benefits of job rotation include Coşgel and Meceli (1998) who stated that job rotation leads to more innovative employees, and Malinski (2002) who indicated that job

rotation leads to a decrease in work boredom and work stress, and an increase in loyalty, innovation and productivity in the workplace.

Although these strategies are positive coping strategies, Victor and Barnard (2016) also mention negative coping strategies reported by the participants in their study. Some participants in their study indicated that they use alcohol and dagga as coping strategies (Victor & Barnard, 2016). Another negative coping strategy that Victor and Barnard (2016) found in their study was "injury on purpose". Some of the slaughterers injured themselves on purpose so that they could qualify for sick leave or light duty, thus escaping their work challenges for a short time. One of the participants referred to this when he stated:

> I admit I also once cut myself on purpose with a knife, just to feel. To be honest you know the work is so hard if you cut yourself you are actually glad, and you know for a month or so you will just walk around with light duty. (Victor & Barnard, 2016, p. 8).

2.11 Conclusion

This literature review has highlighted some of the positive and negative factors that may influence the physical, social and psychological well-being of an employee in the general workplace. Some of the negative risk factors that may occur in the general workplace, such as long working hours, low income, violent working conditions, environmental factors (such as noisy, hot and cold working conditions), hard physical labour and a lack of training, are also present in an abattoir. The work in an abattoir may, therefore, lead to serious physical, social and psychological problems. The physical conditions and violent behaviour may then lead to serious psychological conditions such as depression, anxiety, PTSD and PITS. These findings are present in both the international and local literature (Dillard, 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 2009; Fitzgerald, 2010; Jacques, 2015; Victor & Barnard, 2016; Victor, 2012). Despite all these problems, some slaughterers are well adapted and make use of positive coping strategies and

resources such as support from family and friends, religion, and psychological defences. There are, however, slaughterers who struggle to be resilient, which can then lead to the use of negative coping strategies, such as self-harm, drugs and alcohol abuse.

The following chapter (chapter three), discusses the methodology of the current study. The chapter focuses on the research design, ecological systems theory and stress and coping theory as the theoretical framework, sampling strategy and participants, procedure of the research, data collection and data analysis, the role of the researcher and self-reflection, the credibility of the research, the role of gatekeepers, and ethical issues in the research.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to qualitatively explore the well-being of slaughterers working as stunners and bleeders in an abattoir. The chapter begins with a discussion regarding the rationale of using a qualitative, interpretive research design and why this was the most suitable option for the study. After that, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory and Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping, which is the theoretical framework of the study, will be discussed. The data collection and analysis process, framed by Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2012) thematic analysis will also be discussed. Measures were put in place to ensure the credibility of the research process and these are included in the chapter. Following that, I will explain my role as a researcher and my reflexive process. In the last section, the ethical issues of the study and information regarding the role of gatekeepers will be discussed.

3.2 Research Design

The purpose of the research design is to find the right strategy or approach to answering a scientific research question (Babbie & Mouton, 2010). The research design provides the structure for the procedure, data collection and analysis that the researcher will use in the study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). Terre Blanche, Durrheim, and Painter (2006) argued that a research design is the planned process between the research questions and the implementation of the research. When a research design is developed, one of the most important tasks is to find the right research paradigm, as it is this that informs the whole research process.

For this study, a qualitative research design was found to be the most appropriate. The research problem, the research goal and the research questions of the current study all indicated that a qualitative research design would be the best method to study the lives of slaughterers working in the "dirty area" of a South African abattoir. Since my goal was to gain an in-depth understanding of the lives of the abattoir employees, focusing specifically on their well-being, I realised that experiments and surveys could not capture the experiences of the slaughterers in the same way as in-depth interviews could. I also wished to gain a deeper understanding of the subjective experience of the slaughterers' workplace experience, which can best be done with qualitative research design and methodology.

According to Patton (2002), qualitative research is naturalistic, holistic and inductive. According to qualitative research perspectives, human behaviour is best studied within the historical, social, and linguistic features which give it shape. Thus, qualitative research allows the study of phenomena as they unfold in real-life situations without manipulation (Kelly, 1999). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) define qualitative research as, "situated activity that locates the observer in the world", and consisting of "interpretive, material practices that make the world visible" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). These characteristics of qualitative research were important to this study as they made it possible for me to enter the lives of the slaughterers and find out what their initial experiences of the abattoir and slaughtering were. I believe that qualitative research is a research method in which the researcher obtains a deeper understanding of people's lives. I also believe that this method is not concerned with numbers, but rather with the richness of the participants' stories and inner lives.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 7) described qualitative research as, "an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and sometimes counter disciplinary field". This definition indicates that the term qualitative research has several meanings for different people. For example, Schwandt (1997) argued that the term qualitative research is likely to be used by most academics to

describe many research methods, including "phenomenology, ethnography, case study research, naturalistic inquiry, life history and narrative inquiry" (p. 129). He further stated that the term qualitative research is used as a modifier for terms such as "data; analysis; method; methodology; research inquiry and paradigm" (Schwandt, 1997, p. 129). Lastly, Schwandt (1997, p. 129) stated that the term qualitative research is used as a synonym for "nonexperimental" and "ethnographic". Goagh (1993) and LeGrange (2000) argued that the term "qualitative" is not the best term to describe current social science research. It is thus important to find the specific philosophical systems that inform this study.

3.2.1 The Philosophical Systems of the Study

In the social sciences, the philosophical systems that differentiate methods in research are referred to as research paradigms (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 107) define research paradigms as a "set of basic beliefs", which provide a framework for the whole research process. Each paradigm can be characterised by its view of three assumptions: questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology. Ontological assumptions deal with how the researcher sees the world and are concerned with how the researcher defines truth and reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Epistemological assumptions deal with the nature of knowledge; what counts as knowledge and how the researcher comes to know truth and reality. It is concerned with the relationship between the researcher and the participant. Finally, methodological assumptions deal with the procedures researchers use to explore a certain topic and the rationales behind these procedures (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Some of the main paradigms that exist are positivism and several post-positivist paradigms, including interpretivism, critical theory, constructivism, structuralism and poststructuralism (Guba, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Table 1 below, distinguishes these four paradigms according to their ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions.

Table 1

Distinction between Research Paradigms

Paradigm	**Ontological assumption**	**Epistemological assumption**	**Methodological assumption**
Positivism	A stable external reality.	Objective	Quantitative, experimental and hypothesis testing.
Interpretivism	Multiple internal realities exist, and not just a single reality.	Empathetic, observer and intersubjectivity. Relationship between researcher and participant is important.	Qualitative, interactional, observation, interpretation.
Constructivism	Multiple constructed realities exist, and not just a single reality.	Reality is subjective and influenced by the context of the situation. Relationship between researcher and participant is important.	Qualitative, interaction, observation.
Critical Theory	Reality are shaped by social, political,	Subjectivist.	Participative and transformative.

	cultural, economic and gender values.

Source: Guba & Lincoln (1994); Lincoln & Guba (2000); Ponterotto (2005).

For the purpose of this study, I have chosen an interpretive paradigm. According to the interpretive paradigm, it is only possible to deeply understand a phenomenon if you understand it from the perspectives of the people experiencing it (Shah & Corley, 2006). With the interpretive paradigm, the researcher aims to observe people and find out what their perspectives are on their lived experiences; it is not an objective view of that experience. It is possible that meaning can be found in a person's history, language and actions, and can be identified in the course of fieldwork through observation of people's actions and interactions. According to this paradigm, the only way to fully understand other people's experiences is to interact with them and listen to what they have to say (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). According to this perspective, reality is constructed by the people (including the researcher) who participate in this reality.

Research in the interpretive paradigm is, therefore, able to produce rich descriptive analyses that emphasise a deep, interpretive understanding of social phenomena. The main aim of this study was to qualitatively explore the well-being and experiences of slaughterers working as stunners and bleeders in the "dirty area" of an abattoir. To better understand the lives of the slaughterers, it was important to understand their thoughts, feelings, beliefs and values. I thus had to get a deeper perspective of the subject under investigation, captured through face-to-face interaction with the slaughterers. It was also important that I understand my interpretations, as a researcher, of the lives of the slaughterers. The advantage of interpretivism lies in allowing a researcher to obtain rich, in-depth data from participants. This is illustrated in the current study, as I obtained in-depth information regarding the participants'

lives, cultural, religious and organisational backgrounds. I also built a relationship with the slaughterers, so that I was better able to comprehend the subjective worlds of my participants and was less focused on my subjective interpretations (Weber, 2004). The ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions of the interpretive qualitative research paradigm made it possible for me to conduct this study.

3.2.1.1 Ontological position.

According to Gioia (2003), ontology is concerned with the nature of reality. Snape and Spencer (2003, p. 20) indicated that:

> …within social research key ontological questions concern whether or not social reality exists independently of human conceptions and interpretations; whether there is a common, shared, social reality or just multiple context-specific realities; and whether or not social behaviour is governed by "laws" that can be seen as immutable or generalizable.

Taylor (2007) theorises that the societies in which we live influence and limit how we act and think. Therefore, through their subjective understanding, individuals can attribute different meanings to the same situation, and on the contrary, different reactions result out of similarly expressed views, which in turn lead to a state of constant revision (Bryman, 2016; Niehaves & Stahl, 2006) and various interpretations of social reality (Williams, 2000) which are accessible to a researcher through respondents only (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003).

From an ontological perspective, I was able to enter into the lives of the slaughterers who participated in the study and gained an in-depth understanding of the challenges they faced due to their historical background, culture, socio-economic status and the high demands of their

work. I was also interested in finding out what the reality was for slaughterers in South African abattoirs and how they experienced their work.

3.2.1.2 Epistemological position.

Epistemology deals with knowledge and how we obtain knowledge about a phenomenon which stems from a researcher's view of the world (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003; Marsh & Stoker, 2002; Taylor, 2007; Weber 2004). The epistemology in an interpretive paradigm is subjective and concerned with the relationship between the researcher and the participant (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

I adopted interpretivism as the epistemological perspective most suitable to the study, as I was interested in the well-being and experiences of slaughterers, and I wanted to gain a deeper understanding of their lives. An interpretivist epistemology allowed for rich, in-depth data to be collected through in-depth face-to-face interaction between me and the participants. I thus used a qualitative interpretive research design to conduct this study.

In terms of my motivation and interest in this study, my dad has been working in the meat industry and at different abattoirs for as long as I can remember. Whenever I heard him talk about the abattoirs I always wondered how a slaughterer feels when he kills an animal. When my co-supervisor told me that cases of PTSD, family violence and alcohol abuse occur among slaughterers in other countries, my interest in this topic started to grow and I decided to conduct this study.

3.2.2 Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to the values and viewpoints on which researchers base their procedures and strategies, and their expectations about the nature of the research they are conducting (Holloway, 1997). The method refers to the procedures and techniques the

researcher uses to conduct the research, whilst methodology involves the ideas underlying data development and analysis. Also, methodology deals with the relationships between various parts of the study and the creation of new and innovative findings (Guba, 1990). It is therefore concerned with the principles, priorities, and rules given to social conditions and individual action. The methodology of a study outlines what counts as valid knowledge and how that knowledge is obtained and ordered in a study (Guba, 1990). Choosing a research methodology depends on the research paradigm because of the importance of "design coherence" in any study.

Research methodology is aligned with the research paradigm (interpretivism), the techniques used in sampling (grounded theory), data analysis (thematic analysis), and interpretation (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), as well as how the context of the study "fits" with the logic of the paradigm and purpose of the research (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). There are several research methodologies associated with the interpretive paradigm, each of which has its own underlying philosophies, practices and methods of interpretation. These include phenomenology, ethnography, case study and grounded theory. For this study, my initial choice was to use grounded theory as the methodological and theoretical framework of the study. Since there is limited research done on the experience, well-being and coping strategies of employees working in an abattoir, I thought that a grounded theory methodology would be a good choice. According to Glaser (1992), grounded theory methodology can be used in different types of research, but most researchers use the theory to formulate hypotheses or theories based on existing phenomena, or to look at how people cope with their daily challenges or negative circumstances.

For this study, a grounded theory methodology is an appropriate way to study human behaviour and learn about the individual's perceptions and feelings on a sensitive topic and in a different cultural context (Wolcott, 1980). However, after the collection and analysis of the

pilot study data, and some of the main study data, I realised that I could explain my results much better with other theories, and I thus did not develop a theory from the data. It should be made clear that this is not a grounded theory study, as I only used grounded theory methodology techniques to collect the data. I then used thematic analysis to analyse the collected data and I used different theories (described in the next section) to interpret my results. After I collected my data, and whilst reviewing literature, I realised that different factors have an influence on a slaughterer's well-being, and I, therefore, thought that Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory would be an appropriate theory to interpret my results with, since his theory focusses on different factors that can affect well-being. I also thought that Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping are appropriate for this study, as their theory can explain how slaughterers cope with the factors that are influencing their well-being.

I used Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2012) thematic analysis technique to analyse my data. According to Braun and Clarke (2014), thematic analysis is a suitable method for health and well-being research, and thus an appropriate analysis method for the current doctoral study. The fact that I change from grounded theory data analysis techniques to thematic analysis could have influenced my study, however, Braun and Clarke (2006, pp. 8-10) argue that: "Grounded Theory is very similar to Thematic Analysis in terms of their procedures for coding 'themes' or coding from data". Both techniques involve coding data; grouping codes together to develop larger themes; constant comparison between the data transcripts, codes and themes; and capturing notes of initial thoughts and feelings about the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Terry, Hayfield, Clarke, & Braun, 2017).

According to Alhojailan (2012), thematic analysis is an appropriate method in an interpretive study. With this in mind, thematic analysis can distinguish and identify, for example, factors or variables that influence any issue generated by the participants (Alhojailan,

2012). Therefore, the participants' interpretations are significant in terms of giving the most appropriate explanations for their behaviours, actions and thoughts. Thematic analysis is also an appropriate method in a research study where inductive and deductive methods are used (Alhojailan, 2012), and it is thus appropriate for the current doctoral study, as I used both inductive and deductive methods (see section 3.9).

According to Braun (2011, p. 14), the strengths of thematic analysis is that it is a flexible method: "it can be used across a range of research questions, theoretical frameworks, types of data, large and small data sets". Unlike grounded theory, thematic analysis can be used in different theoretical frameworks (Terry et al., 2017). Similar to grounded theory, thematic analysis used different data collection methods, such as semi-structured interviews (Niland et al., 2014), focus groups (Neville et al., 2015), diaries (Leeming et al., 2013) etc.

There are however also weaknesses, for example: "many disadvantages of thematic analysis depend on poorly conducted analysis and inappropriate research questions" (Braun, 2011, p. 15). I addressed this issue in my study by discussing my research questions with both my supervisors and I also tested the appropriateness of my research questions during the pilot study. Another disadvantage of thematic analysis is that it has "limited interpretative power if not used within an existing theoretical framework" (Braun, 2011, p. 15). I addressed this issue by framing my findings in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory and Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping.

Grounded theory is thus the methodology of my study and guided my data collection strategy, while I employed a different, yet similar coding strategy, thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), during the analysis stage of my study. Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Lazarus and Folkman (1984) was then used as the theoretical lens through which I viewed my data. I thus used qualitative methodology techniques in my study. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), grounded theory methodology is similar to other qualitative methodologies and these

similarities are also present in the current study. These characteristics include a focus on everyday life experiences, valuing participants' perspectives, data collection as an interactive process between researcher and participants, research being primarily descriptive, and relying on people's words. In Table 2 below, I have indicated the steps I followed in this research study.

Table 2

Steps in the research process

Step 1	My co-supervisor made me aware of the dangerous work of slaughterers and the fact that their work may have an influence on their well-being.
Step 2	The problem resulted in: Research questions.
Step 3	I chose a paradigm suited to this research – an interpretivist paradigm.
Step 4	I decided on the most appropriate strategy for this research - qualitative methodology and design.
Step 5	I examined the type of data to be collected - qualitative data.
Step 6	I chose a data collection method – qualitative, semi-structured in-depth interviews, tape recorder and transcribing.

Step 7	Pilot study with slaughterers, purposive sampling, semi-structured in-depth interviews and thematic analysis.
Step 8	Main study - I collect and analysed the data for the rest of the slaughterers participating in the study – theoretical sampling, semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis.
Step 9	I conduct secondary interviews with managers and family members of slaughterers – purposive sampling, semi-structured in-depth interviews and thematic analysis.
Step 10	I report and discussed the findings and conclusions, and made recommendations for future research.

3.3 The Theoretical Framework of this Study

I contextualise my findings into two theories. The first one is Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Theory and the second one is Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping. In the following two sections, these theories will be described.

3.3.1 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

For this study, Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986, 1999) Ecological Systems Theory was an appropriate selection because it provided a holistic framework for understanding the well-being of abattoir employees and the different ecological factors that may influence their well-

being. Bone (2015) indicated that Bronfenbrenner's theory provides a holistic approach to occupational health. Lomas (2015) argued that it is essential to approach well-being from multiple socio-cultural levels, from the microsystem to the chronosystem. Well-being is not just a matter of people's individual choices and psychological qualities, it is complexly determined by socio-cultural factors at different levels (Lomas, 2015). Our collective well-being will thus be enhanced to the extent that we can structure our socio-cultural environment to better promote this end (Lomas, 2015).

According to Stokols (2000, p. 129), the Ecological Systems theory offers a comprehensive contextual analysis model to, "examine health problems encountered by individuals and groups in relation to the etiologic circumstances present in their day-to-day physical and social environments". Stokols (1992, 2000) further acknowledged that ecological models are very appropriate to examine workplace health. He stated, "the signal challenge of our time is to establish and maintain healthy environments", acknowledging the interconnectedness between small-scale health promotion and the "healthfulness of the global environment" (Stokols, 1992, p. 6). A social-ecological approach to research can be used to develop educational, therapeutic, and policy interventions, to enhance personal, community and occupational well-being (Lomas, 2015; Stokols, 2000). There are a few studies in the literature which indicate that a holistic ecological approach to research is an ideal approach to use in employee well-being research studies (Bone, 2015; Karanika-Murray & Weyman, 2013; Lomas, 2015; Quintiliani, Poulsen, & Sorensen, 2010). I, therefore, decided to use this theory as part of the theoretical framework of my study.

Urie Bronfenbrenner is one of the most influential contributors to ecological thinking in health research. Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed his ecological systems theory as a new theoretical perspective to understand human development. He made significant changes to his theory from its development in the late 1970s and constantly revised his theory until his death

in 2005. Although Bronfenbrenner's theory was originally used to understand human development, it has been applied in many other fields including health research (Richard, Gauvin, & Raine 2011); sport psychology (Krebs, 2009); resilience in climate change (Boon & Ahenkan, 2012); and the mental health of children affected by war (Betancourt, McBain, Newnham, & Brennan, 2013).

According to the early phases of his theory, Bronfenbrenner argues that human development and behaviour is influenced by different environmental systems. Bronfenbrenner (1979) argues that individuals are exposed to various ecological systems throughout their lifetime which affects their lives and behaviour in different ways. The various ecological systems include microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The microsystem refers to the relationships between an individual and the people with whom the individual has direct contact with, for example, their primary family, broader family, friends, colleagues, church group, school, work, etc. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This can refer to a slaughterer's family and friends, their co-workers, their working environment, their church groups and their religion. In Bronfenbrenner's original theory, culture was placed in the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). However, Vélez-Agosto et al. (2017) revised Bronfenbrenner's theory, and indicated that culture should be placed in the microsystem, as Markus and Kitayama (2009, p. 423) stated: "culture is not separate from the individual; it is a product of human activity". Culture is not separate from the individual and part of the macrosystem, but it is a part of an individual's everyday life experience, and should thus be placed in the microsystem (Vélez-Agosto et al., 2017). The culture of a slaughterer is therefore also part of the microsystem.

The mesosystem refers to the relationship between an individual's microsystems, for example, the relationship between their family and friends, their family and colleagues, their

friends and church group, their home and work life etc. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This can refer to the influences of a slaughterer's work on their family life, and their religion and their culture on their work-life and their family life.

The exosystem refers to the social structures of society that are not in direct contact with the individual, but still influence their life, for example, the mass media, the world of work, and public agencies (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The exosystem is a protective domain for the well-being of South African abattoir employees since it can also refer to the South African Occupational Health and Safety Act (85 of 1993) and the SAAA's code of conduct and regulations.

The macrosystem is the largest system and refers to an individual's socioeconomic status, ethnicity, race and living environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This can refer to the slaughterers' contexts in which they grew up, their race and income.

During the next phase of his theory, Bronfenbrenner also added biology and the chronosystem to his theoretical framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Bronfenbrenner's theory is sometimes also referred to as the bioecological model. During this phase, Bronfenbrenner developed ideas about the relationship between individual characteristics and context. According to Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994), human development involves interaction between the biological and psychological person and his/her environments. To understand the human potential, an intervening mechanism that connects the inner with the outer in a two-way process occurring overtime is required. Bronfenbrenner also developed his thinking about time by adding the chronosystem to his theoretical framework of ecological development. With the chronosystem, Bronfenbrenner wanted to consider changes over time, not only within the person but also in the environments in which that person is found, to investigate how these changes may affect a person's developmental outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The chronosystem thus refers to the transitional phase, for example, an individual's characteristics

and the time in which he lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The chronosystem thus suggests that to promote health and well-being effectively in an abattoir, it is important that slaughterers engage in many health and wellness programmes in a year.

According to all five systems, there are thus several factors that influence an individual's experiences and behaviour. Stokols (2000) indicated that the advantage of an ecological approach is the fact that it accepts holistic concepts whereby biological, psychological, socio-cultural and physical environmental elements are seen to affect well-being. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is, therefore, suitable for well-being research and thus an appropriate theory to explain the well-being of slaughterers in the current doctoral study.

3.3.2 Lazarus and Folkman's Transactional Model of Stress and Coping

After looking at the various environmental factors that may influence a slaughterers well-being (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), it would be beneficial to include theory on coping strategies, to identify the coping strategies used by slaughterers in the current study. Numerous studies in the literature focus on coping strategies and how people use them to deal with stress (Folkman et al., 1986; Frazier, Mortenson & Steward, 2005; Filipas & Ullman, 2006).

I will focus on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) defined the process of an individual's cognitive appraisal of an event as an evaluative process that reflects an individual's subjective interpretation. When an individual experiences a stressful or challenging situation, their coping efforts will increase, and these coping strategies may decrease their levels of distress (Moos & Schafer, 1993). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) developed a widely-recognised model that described how an individual may cope with stress and how that coping develops. According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984, p. 141), stress is, "constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to

manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person". According to this model, stress occurs when an individual experiences an environmental demand, and the stress response depends on his/her cognitive appraisal, which refers to an interpretation of the stressor based on his or her ability to cope with it. According to this model, there are three types of cognitive appraisal, namely primary appraisal, secondary appraisal, and reappraisal (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Primary appraisal refers to an individual's opinion or judgement about their situation. There are three types of primary appraisal, namely irrelevant, benign-positive, and stressful appraisals (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Irrelevant appraisal occurs when the individual's situation does not influence their well-being. A benign-positive appraisal can occur if the outcome of a situation is positive. Stressful appraisal, the particular interest of the present study, includes harm/loss, threat, and challenge (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Secondary appraisal refers to an individual's evaluation of how to cope with internal and/or external demands and constraints, and whether the coping strategies are adequate to meet the demands of the stressor (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984), there are two types of coping, namely emotion-focused coping and problem-focused coping. When a person manages a distressing problem within his or her environment, they are using problem-focused coping, while emotion-focused coping deals with regulating the emotional response to the problem (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984), primary and secondary appraisals interact with each other to create the stress responses and the emotional reaction, which can be positive or negative. When an individual appraises a situation as a threat/harm or loss, they are more likely to engage in emotion-focused coping strategies, whereas when they appraise a situation as a challenge, they are more likely to engage in problem-focused coping strategies.

Tertiary appraisal or reappraisal refers to a changed appraisal. An appraisal can be changed based on new information from the environment, one's reactions to the environment, and/or a result of cognitive coping efforts (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping, described above, focuses on coping processes that an individual can use to deal with stressors, and it can help to ease the emotional distress experienced by an individual. Since there is research that indicates that there is a concurrent existence of positive and negative emotions in the stress process, it is necessary to revise the theory to indicate how coping can facilitate positive emotions (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). As a result, Folkman (1997) described two key areas to be developed: the need to better understand (a) the function of positive emotions within the stress and coping process, and (b) the role of coping processes in facilitating positive emotions during intensely stressful events.

In the original theoretical explanation (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), cognitive reappraisal determined whether coping efforts were successful or unsuccessful. Successful outcomes led to positive emotions, while failure to successfully resolve the situation produced distress, which initiated further appraisal and coping attempts. However, the revised theory proposed that unsuccessful coping and its resultant distress may trigger meaning-focused coping, especially when it seems that the stressors are overwhelming and uncontrollable (Folkman, 1997; 2008). Meaning-focused coping involves drawing on one's values, beliefs, and goals to reorder life priorities, ascribe positive meaning to ordinary events, and to find and remind oneself of the benefits of stress (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010; Folkman, 2008). Meaning-focused coping, in turn, produces positive emotions, which restore the resources that influence cognitive appraisals, sustain coping efforts over time, and provide relief from distress (Folkman, 2008).

In the next section, the purpose of the pilot study, as well as the sampling strategies of the pilot study will be described.

3.4 The Pilot Study

When a researcher conducts a pilot study in qualitative research, it allows him/her to identify the correct participants for the research, and it helps him/her to test certain questions in the interview schedule. According to Strydom (2005), the pilot study then allows the researcher to make adjustments to ensure quality interviewing during the main study.

I thus decided to conduct a pilot study before I completed the rest of the study. To conduct the pilot study, I made use of purposive sampling to contact three registered red meat abattoirs in the Boland district of the Western Cape province of South Africa. The participants in each abattoir were also sourced/identified using purposive sampling. According to Patton (2002) and Cresswell and Plano-Clark (2011), purposive sampling occurs when a sample is chosen by the researcher based on the researcher's knowledge of a population, its elements and the purpose of the study. Berg (2007) indicated that the strength of purposive sampling lies in choosing information-rich cases for in-depth analysis that can best answer the main research question of the study.

I sent e-mails to three abattoirs to ask their permission to interview their employees. After this request was approved, I asked employees directly if they would be interested in being participants. The e-mails were accompanied by a letter, in which I explained the details of the study and requested access to participants. The letter also requested whether any of the employees at the abattoir would give their permission for me to contact their families and ask them if they wanted to be involved in the study. I also asked permission to interview managers and supervisors working at the abattoir.

In the letter, I asked permission to conduct semi-structured interviews with the slaughterers working as stunners or bleeders in the dirty area of the abattoir. I asked the managers to identify slaughterers with the following criteria: the slaughterer should currently be employed as a stunner or bleeder at the dirty area of the abattoir and the slaughterer should have worked for at least six months or longer at the abattoir (see Appendix A, pp. 260-261). From the three abattoirs that were initially contacted for the pilot study, two gave permission to be part of the study, whilst the other abattoir declined to participate in the study. I then contacted the fourth abattoir in the Boland district of the Western Cape of South Africa with the same procedure. That abattoir agreed to participate in the pilot study. The managers of each abattoir then identified slaughterers working in the dirty area. The managers of each abattoir had first explained the study to the slaughterers and asked if they would like to participate. After the managers confirmed that the slaughterers agreed to participate, a suitable time and place were confirmed for the data collection.

In the interviews, I first re-explained the study to each participant and ensured that they fully understood the aims of the study. I explained the ethical issues to the participants emphasising their voluntary participation and reassured them that the interview material was confidential and would not impact their jobs. All the participants that volunteered to participate in the study received an informed consent form to sign before the start of the interview. The form explained the ethical issues, purpose and procedure of the study, and assured participants that they may withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences (see Appendix B, pp. 262-265). After the participants had signed the form, I asked their permission to record the interview. Once they agreed, I made sure that the participant was comfortable and started the interview. After the interviews, I thanked the participants and gave them a R150 food voucher as an indication of my appreciation for their time.

All the interviews took place at the abattoirs and the managers of the different abattoirs allowed me to use a private office where I conducted the interviews.

I used semi-structured interviews to collect the data for the pilot study. More detail on semi-structured interviewing will be provided in section 3.7. I then used Braun and Clarke's (2006; 2012) thematic analysis technique to analyse the data of the pilot study. More detail on the data analysing technique will be provided in section 3.9. The initial data collection and data analysis processes indicated which direction to follow to find more participants. The pilot study also indicated which questions on my interview schedule worked and which questions I needed to change to more accurately capture the experiences of these employees. After the collection and analysis of the data of the pilot study, I changed certain questions and added other questions on my interview schedule. The results of the pilot study also facilitated finding more participants.

3.5 Sampling Strategies in the Current Study

In the initial stage of grounded theory methodology, the data collection process usually takes place with purposive sampling. When a grounded theorist starts with data collection, they begin with purposeful sampling, followed by theoretical sampling (Cutcliff, 2000). According to Cutcliff (2000), the data that is collected via purposeful sampling will indicate the direction which further sampling needs to follow. Similar to Cutcliff (2000), Coyne (1997, p. 625) states, "theoretical sampling does involve the purposeful selection of a sample in the initial stages of the study".

As mentioned above, I first used purposive sampling to select the participants for the pilot study. I then used theoretical sampling to contact nine more red meat abattoirs in the Western Cape province of South Africa, to collect the rest of my data. According to Charmaz (2006, p. 192), theoretical sampling is: "seeking and collecting pertinent data to elaborate and

refine categories in your emerging theory". Qureshi (2018) argued that the focus in theoretical sampling is not on the sample but on what that sample has to say which will be helpful in the theory building. Qureshi (2018) argued further that the focus in theoretical sampling is not on whom to interview, but it is on what data needs to be obtained, and for this purpose, anyone who can provide this data is the best candidate.

The research must start with data analysis in the early stages of the data collection process since that analysis will indicate the direction for further data collection. The early analysis will also point out the important issues that need exploration. In grounded theory methodology, data collection and analysis take place interchangeably. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), this process is also known as an iterative cycle of induction and deduction, which involves the collection of data and constant comparison between results and new findings, to guide further data collection.

In this study, data collection and analysis took place interchangeably. According to grounded theory methodology, data is collected until data saturation is reached, in other words until no new or relevant data emerge regarding a category and relationships between categories are established (Patton, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Interviews were conducted and analysed until data saturation was reached. I transcribed and analysed each interview after I conducted the interview. This process helped me to see where I needed more information and when data saturation had been reached. At that stage, I did not find any new data and all the participants said similar things, especially about the role of their religion in their work and the fact that they got used to slaughtering after a few weeks or months working at an abattoir, and I thus reached data saturation.

3.6 The Procedure of the Research

After the completion of the pilot study, I used theoretical sampling to contact nine more red meat abattoirs in the Western Cape province of South Africa. From the nine abattoirs, eight agreed to participate and one did not want to participate due to personal reasons. The same procedure as conducted during the pilot study phase was then used with the remainder of the abattoirs, to collect the data for the main study.

The interviews were conducted in English or Afrikaans, depending on the preference of the participants. In the case where the participants' home language was IsiXhosa, I made use of an interpreter. One of the slaughterer's home language was Shona (one of Zimbabwe's official languages), three were Somali (one of Somalia's official languages) and two were Chichewa (one of Malawi's official languages), and in these cases, these interviews were conducted in English.

The same procedure was thus followed by the rest of the slaughterers. I contacted them and explained the study to them. After they agreed, a suitable time and place were established for the interviews to take place. I also explained all the ethical issues to them and assured them that they may withdraw from the study at any time, without any consequences (see Appendix C, pp. 266-269). I also collect the data with semi-structured interviews and analyse it with Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis technique.

Secondary interviews were also conducted with the managers, supervisors and family members of the slaughterers. Secondary interviews are a type of data triangulation, which increases the credibility of a study (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). I used purposive sampling to contact the participants for the secondary interviews. Eight managers participated in the study. Three of the managers worked at the halaal abattoirs, one worked at the halaal and kosher abattoir, one worked at the halaal and secular abattoir and the remaining three worked at the secular abattoirs.

Only three of the Muslim slaughterers' wives participated in the study. The wives of the Muslim participants who came from Malawi and Somalia could not participate in the study since they were not living in South Africa. Five of the secular slaughterers indicated that they were single and were living alone. Three of the secular slaughterers indicated that they were married, but their wives did not want to participate in the study. The slaughterer from Zimbabwe was married, but his wife was not living in South Africa and therefore could not participate in the study.

The same procedure as mentioned above with the slaughterers was used to select the participants for the secondary interviews. The interviews with the managers and their family members also took place in a private office at the abattoirs.

3.7 Process of Data Collection

Since this is an interpretive qualitative study, data collection usually occurs with focus groups or semi-structured in-depth interviews (Khan, 2014). In the current study semi-structured, in-depth interviews were used to conduct a study on the well-being of slaughterers working in the "dirty area" of an abattoir. I wanted to include focus groups, but there were not enough participants working at the "dirty area" of the abattoirs for a focus group. Further, I decided against the focus groups, because I wanted to protect the privacy of the slaughterers.

In the current study, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were thus used to collect data. Before the interviews, participants received a biographical questionnaire in which they were asked to provide the following information: age, gender, home language, religious affiliation, highest educational level, work position and level of income (see Appendix D, p. 270 and Appendix E, p. 271). The household income report by Masemola, Van Aardt and Coetzee (2012) was used to identify the socio-economic class of each participant. After participants completed the biographical questionnaire, the semi-structured interviews were conducted.

Semi-structured interviews are normally used to explore new and sensitive topics and highlight the perspectives and experiences of previously marginalised groups (Krueger & Casey, 2002). The interviews consisted of open-ended questions, as well as probing questions. These open-ended questions included asking the participants about how they experience their work, issues related to their physical, social and psychological well-being and how they cope with the daily challenges of their work. Probing questions included: tell me a little bit more; what do you mean by…?; can you maybe give me more examples, etc. (see Appendix F, pp. 272-273). The duration of the interviews was on average between 40 minutes and one hour.

When conducting a semi-structured interview, the interview questions must give minimal guidance, to let the participants talk about what is of importance to them regarding the question. Additional semi-structured interviews were conducted until data saturation was reached. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the managers and supervisors of the abattoir and with family members of the slaughterers, to get their perspectives on the lives of slaughterers (see Appendix G, p. 274 and Appendix H, p. 275). Semi-structured interviewing is the most common interview technique in qualitative research and can be conducted on an individual or group-basis (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to explore deep and sensitive issues and provide participants with the freedom to express their views in their own way. They also provide reliable and comparable qualitative data (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

3.8 Participants of the Study

Currently, there are approximately 285 red meat registered abattoirs in South Africa, with many slaughterers working in the different areas of each abattoir, depending on the size of the abattoir. Abattoirs are graded according to their size, designated as an A, B, C, D or E grade abattoir (Department of Agriculture & Rural Development, 2009). The size of an abattoir

depends on its capacity, i.e., the number of animals that can be slaughtered in one day. An A-grade abattoir has the largest capacity and the size of the abattoir gets smaller as the grades descend, with the E-grade abattoir being the smallest (Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, 2009).

In South Africa, there are red meat, poultry, game, ostrich, crocodile, and rabbit abattoirs. For this study, red meat abattoirs that slaughter mainly cattle, calves, sheep and pigs, were included. Some abattoirs slaughter only one species, while others slaughter more than one species on one day, for example, cattle, sheep and pigs. Red meat abattoirs across the Western Cape province of South Africa were included in the study.

The sample of the study included 11 red meat abattoirs across the Western Cape province of South Africa. Four of the abattoirs were reserved exclusively for halaal slaughtering, one was reserved for halaal and kosher slaughtering, one was reserved for halaal and secular slaughtering and the remaining five engaged in mainstream secular slaughtering. In Table 3 below, the biographical data of the slaughterers who participated in the study is provided.

I am mindful of the biographical data of my participants and the important issue of race in research in South Africa. South Africa has a history of colonialism and racial oppression in which people were classified according to their race. However, apartheid ended in 1994 and the new South Africa is celebrated for its racial diversity and is referred to as the *Rainbow Nation* (James & Lever, 2001). The Director of the Census, Jan Raats, identified the following categories for race in 1951: White, Coloured, Bantu, and Asian (James & Lever, 2001) and these categories have subsequently become embedded in the country. Although South Africa is now in a post-apartheid era, racial categories are still referred to, including White, Black, Coloured, Asian, Indian, etc. I thus acknowledge that the social construction of race, that was developed a century ago, still has an impact in South Africa. To redress past imbalances, we

need to target the groupings who were previously disadvantaged, thus referring to the arbitrary race classifications that were implemented in South Africa during apartheid to track our progress forward. Therefore, as a researcher, I acknowledge the social construction of race in South Africa and am aware of the oppressive history underlying these racial classifications indicated in my demographics form.

Table 3

Biographical information of slaughterers

	Halaal slaughterers	**Kosher slaughterers**	**Secular slaughterers**
Number of Participants	10	2	12
Mean Age of Participants	43.8	65	30.7
Duration of Employment	1-36 years	10 years	1–20 years
Home Language	4 Afrikaans; 1 English; 2 Chichewa; 3 Somali	English	3 Afrikaans; 1 Shona / English; 8 IsiXhosa
Religious Affiliation	Muslim	Jewish	3 Christian; 6 African traditional religion; 3 non-believers

Citizenship	5 South African; 2 Malawian; 3 Somali	2 South African	11 South African; 1 Zimbabwean
Level of Education	2 College degree; 1 Islamic studies; 1 certificate; 2 grade 12; 2 grade 11; 1 grade 10; 1 grade 7	Rabbinical college, trained rabbis	2 Gr. 12; 2 Gr. 10; 2 Gr. 8; 2 Gr. 7; 1 Gr. 6; 1 Gr. 5
Level of Income	Between R4,000–R12,000	Between R12,000–R30,000	R4,000 and below
Race	5 Coloured; 5 Black	White	9 Black; 3 Coloured

3.8.1 Context of Participants in the Current Doctoral Study

Of the 36 participants in my study, 29 were born South Africans and it is therefore important to discuss the country's history, as it may also influence the participants' well-being. During South Africa's history, Black people, Coloured people and those of Asiatic descent were afforded limited educational, political and work opportunities during apartheid's oppressive regime and many today are still trapped in this racialised cycle of poverty (CHEC, 2013; Kingdon & Knight, 2000). Due to racist legislation, these people were unable to access social mobility and seek more skilled employment opportunities with greater pay. As a result, they were forced to seek lower-paid work, in sectors such as the meat industry, as slaughterers in abattoirs.

Labour market instabilities and slow economic growth due to suppressed global demand were among the factors that contributed to the rise of unemployment during the post-apartheid period in South Africa (Leibbrandt, Woolard, McEwen, & Koep, 2010), and unemployment continues to be one of the most serious economic challenges threatening the country (Banerjee, Galianit, Levinsohn, Mclaren, & Woolard, 2008; Oluwajodu, Blaauw, Greyling, & Kleynhans, 2015).

There are seven immigrants in my study, indicating the impact of immigration on this study. There is currently an immigrant crisis in the world, in which individuals are leaving their countries because of dire financial and political circumstances, to seek better lives elsewhere (Hungwe, 2012; Liang, 2007) The United Nations (2009) indicates that globalisation plays a major role in the increase in migration. They also argue that political instability, economic crises, social inequality, gender discrimination, and the economic and political stability of other parts of the world are some of the major factors that lead to migration. According to Crush and McDonald (2002), South Africa is the most popular migration destination for immigrants from other African countries. This is further supported by Statistics South Africa (2013), which indicates that South Africa has 3.3 million working immigrants, and a third of these immigrants are from other African countries.

In reference to Table 3, Biographical information of slaughterers (see p. 86), it was interesting to see that the White Jewish slaughterers had the highest income and the highest education, while the Black IsiXhosa slaughterers had the lowest income and the lowest level of education. I believe that this is a result of South Africa's history of apartheid and how poverty is racialised in the country. It was also interesting that the secular slaughterers are the youngest while the Jewish slaughterers are the oldest. In addition, all the slaughterers are male, and this could be due to the physical nature of the work in the abattoir.

3.9 Data Analysis of the Current Study

I transcribed the recorded interviews myself to help ensure the participants' privacy and familiarise myself with the data, while the IsiXhosa interviews were transcribed and translated by the IsiXhosa interpreter. The IsiXhosa interpreter also signed a confidentiality agreement, which ensured the confidentiality of the IsiXhosa participants. The transcribed data were analysed according to Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2012) thematic analysis technique. According to Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012), thematic analysis provides the researcher with an accessible and adaptable approach to qualitative analysis. One of the benefits of using thematic analysis is its flexibility. This means that the researcher can identify themes in various ways, and the data will still deliver rich and detailed results (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012).

This approach allowed me to identify themes by using my judgement. A theme can be identified when certain important information occurs regularly in a data set. I thus studied all the interview transcripts to find information that was repeated in the data. I then took the information which was repeatedly seen in the data, and I categorised it into different themes or trends. To identify a theme, it is important to look for patterns in the transcripts and identify information that may answer the research question and aim of the current study (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The current study aimed to establish how slaughterers in an abattoir experience their work, how the work influences their well-being and how they cope with the demands and challenges of their work. An inductive and deductive research approach was used to identify these themes.

An inductive research approach allows the researcher to use their judgement to identify themes. These themes do not have to fit into a predefined framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This approach made it possible for me to explore the connection between how the participants find meaning in their circumstances and how they experience their circumstances (Braun &

Clarke, 2006). Therefore, the meaning, motivation and experiences of these participants, as found in the data, could be identified in a simplistic way (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Another aspect to consider when conducting a research study is whether to include a literature review before data collection. Some researchers argue that the researcher should avoid the literature before the data collection process, because it may influence their research findings and prevent them from finding new and interesting data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), whilst others argue that the researcher should look at the literature early on in the research process, to lead their results in a certain direction to see if the results already exists in the literature or not (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Charmaz, 2006). Gibson and Brown (2009, p. 30) state, "it is particularly difficult to align this process with contemporary social research practices, where research is usually only permitted where researchers can show how their work fits with broader theoretical frameworks". According to Braun and Clarke (2006), there is no right or wrong time or way to engage with the literature when conducting a thematic analysis. They do, however, indicate that if you are using a more inductive approach, you should avoid engaging with the literature in the early stages of data analysis, while a more theoretical approach requires engaging with the literature before data analysis.

At the start of my study, I wanted to stay true to an inductive approach and avoid looking at the literature. It was, however, not possible because I had to conduct a short literature review as a requirement of submitting a PhD proposal to the University as a part of my doctoral studies. I also had to carry out this initial literature review to establish if previous research had been done on the subject. This is, however, unproblematic because I followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis method, and according to them, the researcher may conduct a literature review in the early stages of data collection. Although some recommend that the researcher avoids looking at the literature during the early stages of the research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I found that my short review of the literature gave me a better understanding of

the lives of the people I was about to enter. I realise that the literature could have influenced my interpretation of the data, and I have been mindful of this and only searched for and read more literature during the final stages of my data analysis process. Since I looked at the literature before my data collection started, and framed my results within Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, I also followed a deductive approach. According to Braun and Clarke (2012), it is, however, unlikely that a researcher will start a research project without any thoughts or biases about the topic. It is thus acceptable to use a combination of inductive and deductive methods (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

I have analysed the data through six phases, which include: familiarizing myself with the data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming of themes; and the compilation of the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012). In the following sections, these six phases will be described, and I will explain how I applied each phase in my study.

3.9.1 Familiarising of the Data

In this phase, I had to familiarise myself with the data. Since I had collected all the data myself, I already had a few thoughts and ideas about the data. After each interview, I immediately transcribed the interview and started to read it repeatedly, until I became more familiar with its content. While I was reading each interview, I wrote down my initial thoughts and feelings about the data. I searched for patterns and meaning in each interview transcript and made notes that I could use as I began to analyse the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012; Terry et al., 2017). According to Terry et al. (2017) familiarisation with the data is a crucial step for doing good thematic analysis.

3.9.2 Generating Initial Codes

When researchers code an interview, they aim to capture what is in the interview data and make sense of the participant's words. According to Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012), coding is thus the second step of data analysis, and it enables the researcher to move away from specific statements to more abstract interpretations of the interview data. Coding highlights problems, issues, concerns and matters of importance to those being studied.

According to Terry et al. (2017, p. 17), "good coding is open and inclusive, identifying and labelling all segments of interest and relevance within the dataset, and everything that is of relevance within those segments". In some cases, a data segment may contain more than one code, while other segments are not coded, because they are not relevant in answering the research questions (Terry et al., 2017). Thematic analysis differs from other analytic approaches because it does not require the researcher to code every line of data (Terry et al., 2017). There are no right or wrong codes, the researcher should just ensure that the codes are meaningful and can potentially answer the research questions (Terry et al., 2017).

During my initial coding phase, I started with open coding to analyse the pilot study interviews. In some cases, I used InVivo coding, where I used the participant's direct words to form the codes. I did my coding in Microsoft Word with the highlighting option, and afterwards, I presented all my codes in a Microsoft Excel document. I preferred doing the coding in this way because my visual impairment made it difficult for me to use qualitative data analysis software to code the data. I then applied a more focused coding technique to analyse the rest of the interview transcripts and I used the initial codes as a basis to code larger amounts of data. Together with the coding process, I kept notes to capture my initial thoughts and impressions about the data. I then grouped the focused codes to form larger themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012). I coded the transcripts so that the codes would potentially answer my research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Terry et al., 2017).

During the initial coding phase, I developed 31 codes for the halaal slaughterers, 15 codes for the kosher slaughterers and 32 codes for the secular slaughterers. I then realised that some of the codes were similar, and I grouped similar codes to form new codes. I also realised that some codes were not relevant in answering my research questions, and thus these were discarded. When I grouped the codes, there were 15 new codes for the halaal slaughterers, nine codes for the kosher slaughterers and 23 codes for the secular slaughterers. According to Braun & Clarke (2012), there is no prescribed number of codes that a researcher has to adhere to. I constantly revised the codes and, in some cases, I also changed the names of the codes. I constantly compared the codes with each other to avoid overlapping of codes. I also discussed the codes with my supervisor and I gave him the transcripts to look at, to maintain objectivity.

3.9.3 Searching for Themes

After coding several interview transcripts, a researcher can identify many issues that are important to the participants. These issues are also known as phenomena and are assigned a conceptual label to become a code, also known as a concept by Strauss and Corbin (1998). Some codes or concepts share the same or similar characteristics and are drawn together into more abstract categories that are referred to as themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2012, p. 65), there are five key questions that you have to ask yourself while developing your themes, namely:

> (1) Is this a theme (it could be just a code); (2) If it is a theme, what is the quality of this theme (does it tell me something useful about the data set and my research question); (3) What are the boundaries of this theme (what does it include and exclude); (4) Are there enough (meaningful) data to support this theme (is the theme thin or thick); (5) Are the data too diverse and wide-ranging (does the theme lack coherence).

After I coded all my data transcripts, I grouped the codes to form larger themes. I ensured that I knew the difference between my codes and my themes. I ensured that the name of each theme was representative of the data that created the theme. I also ensured that all of my themes were related to my research questions and were answering my research questions. In some cases, there were not enough meaningful data to support my themes, and I had to discard those themes that were too thin. In some cases, the themes had too much data, and I had to separate those themes into different sub-themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012; Terry et al., 2017).

3.9.4 Reviewing Themes

During this phase, I first looked at all the codes and themes again. I had to do this, to ensure that the codes and themes were related to the entire data set. I also ensured that the different codes and themes could answer all the research questions. I wanted to make sure that there were clear differences between each theme, and if not, I had to group similar themes. In some cases, I also had to split one theme into two different themes, if the data referred to different experiences of the participants. During this phase, I thus constantly compared the codes, themes and notes with each other, and measured the relationships between them until I was satisfied that they represented the entire data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012).

3.9.5 Defining and Naming of Themes

The purpose of the continuous data analysis was to refine the specifications for each theme, as well as to refine the overall image generated by the data analysis. This enabled me to formulate clear definitions and names for each theme. I clustered different themes together under one main theme and thus created sub-themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012).

3.9.6 Compilation of a Report

This was the final step of the data analysis process and involved the selection of important data examples: the final analysis of the chosen interview parts and finding the corresponding literature to fortify the argument made in the data analysis discussion. These steps were compiled into a report. During this phase, I described and discussed the events relating to the data. It was important that the analysis was clear and logical at the end of this phase, and was comprehensible against the background of the study, answering the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012).

3.10 The Role of the Researcher in Qualitative Research

When a researcher is using a qualitative research methodology with an interpretive paradigm, it is important to highlight the role of the researcher in the research process. In this paradigm, the researcher is the research instrument that helps make meaning out of the participants' actions and words (Sciarra, 1999). According to Sciarra (1999), the researcher is the actor whose role it is to become part of the participants' world through extensive interviewing. The researcher does not have control over the participants, but needs to interact with them (Sciarra, 1999). Qualitative researchers should endeavour to learn about the life-world of participants and practice empathy in the interview context (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The relationship between a researcher and a participant is very important and the researcher has to earn the trust of each participant. Although subjectivity is an important concern in qualitative research the researcher´s viewpoints and feelings must not influence the research in any way.

At the start of each interview, I explained the ethical issues to the participants and I made sure that they fully understood everything related to my study. I also made sure that the participants knew that they could trust me, that their identity would not be exposed and that I

would not force them to answer any questions they were uncomfortable with. I did this to build a relationship of trust with the participants. I listened carefully to everything participants said in the interview process and I asked open-ended questions to gain a deeper understanding of each participant. I made a conscious effort to put myself in the shoes of an abattoir employee. Before this study, I had read research articles on slaughterers, and I knew some aspects of their world since my dad is working in the red meat industry of South Africa. I acknowledge my bias and its potential influence on the findings, as far as I could. Whilst my results are fully based on what the participants told me and are a result of the data analysis process, there may be some areas which I may not be consciously aware of that may have influenced the results.

3.11 Reflexive Analysis

I am a young, White, unmarried, blind, Afrikaans-speaking female student who has conducted this study to obtain my doctoral degree in psychology. I collected my data through in-depth interviews with slaughterers, whose job it is to slaughter animals daily. The interviews were conducted with Coloured Muslim slaughterers, White Jewish slaughterers and secular, Black and Coloured slaughterers. I also conducted several interviews with managers and relatives of the slaughterers. The Jewish slaughterers were highly educated and some of the Muslim slaughterers were educated, whilst the others had not finished school due to financial restraints. The secular, Black and Coloured slaughterers, had low levels of education and most were from disadvantaged backgrounds, which is attributed to the oppression of the former apartheid government. The Jewish and Muslim slaughterers spoke either English or Afrikaans, but most of the secular, Black slaughterers spoke IsiXhosa.

The fact that I am a young, White, educated woman, who does not come from a historically disadvantaged background, could have made the data collection process difficult. The participants could have felt that I would not understand their lives and where they came

from. I was also younger than most of the participants, which could have further complicated the data collection process, because they may have perceived my youth as a sign of inexperience and a lack of knowledge. The language issue is another factor that could have complicated the data collection process. Despite all these factors the Jewish and Muslim slaughterers seemed to open up to me. They were also interested in my studies and what I wanted to achieve with the results. The biggest obstacle was with the IsiXhosa slaughterers. I tried to have a conversation with them in broken English and Afrikaans, but this did not work as they only answered me with short answers and sometimes they did not understand my questions. I then decided to use an interpreter, which led to deeper responses. I think the interpreter helped them to feel comfortable and allowed them to open up more because they felt they could relate to her, as she was from the same culture as them and had the same mother tongue. However, these slaughterers still did not talk as much as the other slaughterers. The interpreter obtained a degree in social work at the University of Stellenbosch, and she received training on how to conduct qualitative interviews through her degree. Before we started with the interviews, I also trained her briefly so that she could fully understand what the study was about and familiarise herself with the interview questions. I thought that she would be a good interpreter because she was fluent in Afrikaans, English and IsiXhosa and was educated and trained as a social worker, which made her more empathetic and able to engage with the participants. One problem involved in using an interpreter and translating interview texts may have been the loss of meaning of the participants' words, which is often an unavoidable consequence of translating texts. All of these issues, namely the language barrier, the cultural differences, the gender differences and issues surrounding using an interpreter and translating interview texts could have had an influence on my data-collection process and my overall results.

I have a visual impairment and grew up in a loving family, where three out of four children have visual impairments. Although we were a reasonably well-off family and have had educational opportunities and were able to choose the profession of our choice, I still think my disability places me in a disadvantaged group in society. Although the disadvantage is not financial, people with disabilities are also placed in boxes and face discrimination, just as in the case of historically disadvantaged people and those who did not have the opportunity to pursue an education.

Although I did not grow up similarly to most of the participants, I did not struggle to put myself in their shoes, because I know how it feels not to be able to have everything. I think that might be why the participants opened up to me so easily. I think they could feel my empathy for them. They knew I was listening carefully to them and they felt I understood them. I think in the case of the IsiXhosa slaughterers, the language issues, the cultural differences and level of education were all barriers. However, I felt that they knew I was interested in their stories because once I encountered these barriers, I spoke to them and obtained an interpreter to help me resolve them. The Jewish and Muslim interviews went well and I think it is because they could speak their own language with me (English or Afrikaans) and had a similar background to me, such as being able to pursue tertiary education. The Jewish slaughterers were both White and opened up to me more easily than the other slaughterers, which may have been due to our coming from similar cultural backgrounds.

Another issue that might have influenced the data collection and analysis process, is my lack of experience in qualitative research. While I obtained some experience in qualitative research during my Master's degree, my Master's study had fewer participants than my doctoral study, and I was afraid that I was not enough of a skilled interviewer to complete a qualitative doctoral study. My lack of interviewing skills could have made me miss important information offered by the participants. However, I read books on interviewing skills, spoke to

colleagues who were qualitative researchers and interviewers and conducted a pilot study in an attempt to train myself as a better qualitative interviewer. Also, before I started conducting interviews, my supervisor arranged a training session with another doctoral student in which we practised our interview skills. I believe I improved as an interviewer throughout my data collation and at the end, I had conducted 36 interviews. Despite the barriers I have listed, I still believe I obtained valuable data during my data collection process.

3.12 Trustworthiness of the Research

According to Patton (2002), it is important in both quantitative and qualitative research to test the trustworthiness of the study. To test the trustworthiness of a qualitative study, various measures are used. Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to four concepts that are important in determining the trustworthiness of a qualitative study. These concepts include (1) credibility – referring to the agreement between the views of the participants and the views of the rest of the world; (2) transferability – to determine whether the results of the study will also apply to other participants in other contexts; (3) dependability – referring to the consistency of the analysis, whether the same results would be found if a study with similar participants was conducted in a different context; and (4) confirmability –ensuring that the findings of the study are the views of the participants and not the views of the researcher himself (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

To establish credibility in this study, I had regular sessions with my supervisor, which helped me gain more insight into the field of study. The results of the study were also compared with the results of similar studies. After the data collection, I sent a summary of the results to all the abattoirs that participated in the study, so that they could confirm the accuracy of the findings.

To confirm transferability in this study, I provided a rich, thick description of the entire method of investigation, as well as the biographical information obtained from the participants.

I also indicated the criteria that the participants had to meet to participate in the study. Based on this, other researchers will be able to do a similar study with other participants in a different context.

To increase the dependability of the study, I described the whole study fully. The research design and methodology, sampling strategy and participants, procedure, data collection techniques, data analysis and results have been fully described so that other researchers can do a similar study, to confirm the study's reliability.

Finally, confirmability was established in the study because I had regular supervision sessions with my supervisor. In these sessions, the research process, data analysis procedures and the results of the study were thoroughly discussed. I also discussed my results with other people in the psychology and agricultural industry in South Africa. Further, I discussed my results with another doctoral student to receive further feedback and strengthen the trustworthiness of the study. Although I had to interpret the participants' words, I did not let my feelings or opinions influence the results, as far as I could. I reported on the results as directly as possible and used the participants' words verbatim in my thesis. As this is a qualitative interpretive study, I, the researcher, am the primary instrument of the study and need to consider my own biases and subjectivity to ensure the credibility of the research (Patton, 2002). I practised constant reflexivity to minimise the effect that my own bias and subjective identity had on the research process. Although I had to interpret the participant's words, I discussed my findings with others in the psychology and agricultural field to minimise the effect that my bias and subjectivity as a researcher had on the results. I had some knowledge about the lives of abattoir employees before I conducted this study, and there might have been some biases. It is thus possible that there might have been some biases that I was not aware of, that may have influenced my findings.

Another important aspect of establishing trustworthiness in a qualitative study is reflexivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Since the researcher is the main instrument in qualitative research, it is important to report on how the researcher may influence the research process (Patton, 2002). I have already described my role in the research process and indicated how my personal, cultural, language, academic and theoretical background may have influenced my relationship with participants during the data collection and analysis process. I have also acknowledged my lack of experience in qualitative research and what I did to address this. My cultural differences may have limited the study and I recognise that a researcher from the same community and cultural background could have obtained insights that I might have missed. On the other hand, these differences helped the analysis because I was easily able to see the unique differences in the lives of these participants when compared to my own.

3.13 Ethical Considerations and Consent

Before the study and the data collection process started, I applied for ethical clearance at the University of Stellenbosch's Department of Psychology and the Research Ethics Committee. I received permission to continue with the study from the Department of Psychology on 06 October 2016 and from the Research Ethics Committee on 24 November 2016 (Reference number: HS1210/2016).

The possible consequences for the participants were always kept in mind during the study. I also ensured that the participants voluntarily agreed to participate in the study, and I always protected their privacy. The ethical principles described by Vanclay, Baines, and Taylor (2013), appropriate for research involving human beings, was applied in this research. These include the following: *Respect for participants* – I treated the participants with respect in each interview and fully respected their privacy at all times. *Importance of informed consent form* – before the start of each interview, the participant signed a consent form, which explained the

study, the ethical issues and their rights to them. *Permission for tape-recording* – I asked each participant for their permission to tape-record the interview before it started. *Voluntary participation* – before the start of each interview, I made sure that the participants voluntarily participated and were not forced to participate. I also ensured that the participants knew they could withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences. *The participants' names will not be published* – I have not published participants' names but have used pseudonyms instead. I was also the only one who listened to the tape-recorded interviews, to further protect the slaughterers' privacy. *Confidentiality of data* – I kept all the recorded interviews and transcriptions in a password-protected file on my computer and no one except me and my supervisor had access to it. *No harm to participants* – if, during the data collection, a participant became upset or agitated, I was prepared to refer the participant to a psychologist, if he or she agreed. However, none of the participants felt upset or agitated during the data collection process. During the interviews with the managers, I did not ask the manager about a specific slaughterer, but about the slaughterers in general.

3.14 Gatekeepers in Research

According to McFadyen and Rankin (2016), the role of gatekeepers is vital in health, education and social research studies. It is a continuing process that has a big influence on the completion and success of a research study. Gatekeeping refers to the person who controls or limits the researcher's access to the participants. It is usually the manager or the person who makes the final decisions in an organisation and is responsible for giving the researcher the necessary permission to continue with the study (Berg, 2007; Saunders, 2006).

It is furthermore the gatekeeper's responsibility to protect individuals in their institution or organisation and ensure that the researcher does not force them to participate or answer questions they would prefer not to answer (Bryman, 2016). The gatekeeper must always protect

the participants and ensure that they can trust the researcher to follow the ethical guidelines prescribed for research (Holloway & Wheeler, 2009). Although gatekeepers in a research study may negatively influence the research, this was not the experience in the current study. I got permission from the University of Stellenbosch department of psychology, as well as from the University's research ethics committee to continue with the study. Eleven of the 13 abattoirs that I contacted gave their permission to participate in the study. The other two abattoirs did not give a reason as to why they did not want to participate, however, there were enough participants to conduct the study. All the slaughterers and managers in the 11 abattoirs agreed to participate in the study, however, most of the family members could not or did not want to participate. Some of them did not live in the country so they could not participate, and others did not want to participate. This was problematic as we had wanted to include the perspectives of the family members, but that can be done in a future study.

3.15 Conclusion

In this chapter, I described a specific method that was followed to collect and analyse the data. The qualitative study and every step of the method has also been thoroughly planned and explained. The procedure used to conduct the interviews with the participants was also explained. To collect the data, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants. Interviews are a good way to investigate sensitive issues and to connect with participants on a deeper level. I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis to analyse the data as it yields rich and complex results. The study is also credible because regular supervisory sessions took place and a person who is experienced in qualitative data analysis was involved in evaluating my results. Lastly, I strictly adhered to the prescribed procedure to comply with ethical principles applicable to studies with humans. In the next chapter, the results of this study are reported and discussed. I will compare the results to similar studies in

the literature and draw on my theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986) ecological systems theory and Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping to describe my findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

I acknowledge that results and discussion are usually placed in separate chapters in a thesis, but due to a large amount of data and the qualitative nature of this study, I thought that it would be best to discuss my results immediately after I report it, to ensure ease of reading and to avoid repetition in the discussion chapter. Ponterotto and Grieger (2007) and Choudhuri, Glauser, and Peregoy (2004) indicate that it is sometimes necessary to combine your findings and discussion chapter, to ensure fluidity of the study. For this study, I analysed the data using Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2012) thematic analysis technique. According to Braun and Clarke (2012), a more integrated approach of findings and discussion works well with interpretive research. To incorporate the discussion into the findings chapter will also avoid repetition between the findings and discussion chapters (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

This chapter outlines and reports the findings. I will also discuss the findings in relation to the literature and contextualise it in the theoretical framework of the current study, namely Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) ecological systems theory and Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping.

I will report the findings of the study by discussing five main themes, namely, factors influencing why participants become slaughterers; how their work influences their physical health, their social, emotional and psychological well-being; and the coping strategies they use to mitigate the impact. In each theme, I will discuss the findings of the religiously sanctioned slaughterers (halaal and kosher slaughterers) and the secular slaughterers. All three groups of slaughterers slaughter for commercial purpose, but the Muslim and Jewish slaughterers use certain religious slaughtering techniques so that the meat is either halaal or kosher. I will refer

to these slaughterers as halaal and kosher slaughterers. Since only three of the halaal slaughterers' wives participated in the study, their findings are reported together with the findings of the halaal slaughterers'. The findings of the managers of halaal, kosher and secular abattoirs are also reported together with the findings of the slaughterers since a cross-comparison of slaughterers and managers working at religiously sanctioned and secular abattoirs add more depth to the analysis.

By reporting on these findings, I aim to answer and explain how the slaughtering of animals may influence the well-being of religiously sanctioned and secular slaughterers. In reporting these findings, I show how slaughterers come to be working at an abattoir and focus on their physical, social, emotional and psychological well-being. I will describe how slaughterers experience their work and how they cope with daily work challenges. I also draw a comparison throughout the study between the halaal, kosher and secular slaughterers.

I use direct, verbatim quotations from participants to provide explanations, deepen understanding and assist with readability (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006). Direct quotes are used to bring the reader as close as possible to the participants' reality, which also strengthens the credibility of the results of the study. In the cases where the interviews were conducted in Afrikaans and IsiXhosa, I have also provided some of the Afrikaans and IsiXhosa quotations as well as my translations of those quotations. I did this to add credibility to the results and preserve the meaning of the participants' words. The names of the participants are not provided, and pseudonyms are given to each participant to protect the participant's privacy and confidentiality. I searched on the internet for Muslim, Jewish and Isi-Xhosa names and I chose culturally similar but different names for each participant. A list of all the participants can be found in Appendix I, pp. 276-279).

4.2 Factors Influencing the Reason for Slaughtering

In this section, I will report on the findings of the commercial religiously sanctioned (halaal and kosher) and secular slaughterers and explain the different reasons why participants became slaughterers at the abattoirs (see Table 4 below). I will also discuss the findings in relation to the existing literature to indicate similarities and highlight new developments. I conducted interviews with 10 halaal slaughterers, two kosher slaughterers and 12 secular slaughterers.

Table 4

Factors Influencing Reasons for Slaughtering

	Halaal slaughterers	**Kosher slaughterers**	**Secular slaughterers**
Factors influencing reasons for slaughtering	Limited employment opportunities. Education. Family influence. I do it for my religion. Employment via acquaintance.	Education. "I do it for my religion."	Limited employment opportunities. Education. Family influence. I do it for my religion.

4.2.1 Limited Employment Opportunities

Dillard, (2008) and Human Rights Watch (2004) both argue that slaughtering is a dangerous job with daily physical, social and psychological challenges and consequences, including long work hours. What became evident after I analysed the data, was that one of the

factors that influenced halaal slaughterers to choose their careers was the limited employment opportunities in South Africa. Four out of the 10 halaal slaughterers claimed that limited employment opportunities were the reason they started working in the abattoir. They stated that they were not in their career by choice, but only out of necessity because it was the only job they could get. Ashraf, a 51-year-old Afrikaans-speaking halaal slaughterer from the Western Cape province of South Africa, who had a grade seven education, has been working at the abattoir for 36 years. He states that limited work opportunities led him to a career in the abattoir:

> *Daar was nie ander werk vir my gewees nie, dit was die enigste werk wat ek kon kry.*
> There was no other job for me, this was the only job I could get.

Hashid, a 33-year-old English-speaking immigrant from Malawi, has been working for three years at the abattoir and although he completed a Malawi School Certificate of Education, he could not find a job in his own country, which is why he came to South Africa. He states:

> …it was because of the lack of work. I was without work for a long time and then I came here and found the work as a slaughterer.

Isma'il, a 49-year-old English-speaking immigrant from Somalia, who had a grade 12 education and has been working for six years at the abattoir also stated:

> …at that time, I was looking for work, because I did not have a work and I am a family man. So, my brother helped me to look for a job and then he call me, and I come here.

Kareem, a 43-year-old English-speaking immigrant from Somalia, who had a grade 10 education, and has been working at the abattoir for nine years, also indicated that he could not find a job in his country, which is why he came to South Africa. It thus seems that the halaal slaughterers in my study experienced limited work opportunities and therefore found

themselves working at the abattoir out of financial necessity. Their lack of work experience seemed to contribute to their collective experience of struggling to find work. To become a halaal slaughterer in South Africa you need to be a Muslim, receive training at an abattoir, and be approved by one of South Africa's halaal certifying authorities. The halaal slaughtering process in South Africa is complex, with many certification bodies, i.e., MJC, SANHA, ICSA, etc. There are five bigger certification bodies and several smaller ones. They must approve all halaal slaughterers and they pay regular visits to the different abattoirs to ensure that abattoirs adhere to the rules and regulations of halaal slaughtering.

Two of the slaughterers had higher educational qualifications than the others but were immigrants whose home countries had limited work opportunities, thus they came to South Africa to seek better work opportunities. Five out of the 10 halaal slaughterers in the study were immigrants. Three were from Somalia and two from Malawi. The reason why there are so many Somalian immigrants in South Africa and other parts of the world is due to Somalia's humanitarian crisis. In 1991, violent civil war broke out in Somalia and continues till this day, which has resulted in poor security, conflict, poverty, terrorism, food insecurity and the absence of an effective government (Avis & Hebert, 2016; IOM, 2014; Van Heelsum & Van Amersfoort, 2011). South Africa also has many immigrants from Malawi. One of the main reasons why many men leave Malawi is to seek better employment opportunities while leaving their families at home (Nyale, 2016). Malawi is a small country with a low population density, 86th in the world, and although unemployment is not as high as South Africa, people are still leaving the country due to the country's natural disasters, a stagnant economy and economic difficulties (Nyale, 2016).

The immigrant participants in the current study indicated that they came to South Africa to seek work because they could not find work in their own countries. These men tell stories of having to leave their home countries to seek employment opportunities elsewhere so that

they could send money back home to their families. This finding is an example of the current immigrant crisis in the world which is caused by political instability, economic crises, social inequality, gender discrimination, and the economic and political stability of other parts of the world, causing many to flee their home counties (United Nations, 2009). South Africa is the most popular migration destination for immigrants from other African countries (Crush & McDonald, 2002) and we currently have 3.3 million working immigrants, a third of whom are from other African countries (Statistics South Africa, 2013).

As with the halaal slaughterers, the secular slaughterers also indicated that they worked at the abattoir due to the high unemployment rate and lack of job opportunities in the country (Dias & Posel, 2007). Because of the high unemployment rate in South Africa, many individuals do not have enough work experience, which makes it even more difficult to find a job, especially one they are satisfied with. Bongani, a 33-year-old IsiXhosa slaughterer from the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, who had a grade nine education, indicated that he was just looking for a job, which is why he started working in an abattoir. He states:

Asiko sisi ngaphandle bendifuna umsebenzi. I did not have a job and I needed a job.

Jongikhaya, a 23-year-old IsiXhosa slaughterer from the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, who has a grade 10 education, has been working for five years at the abattoir. He speaks about how he needed any job, which is why he became a slaughterer. He states:

> I was not necessarily looking for a job as a slaughterer, I just needed a job, so I was hunting for any job and then I got the job as a slaughterer. I was then just very happy that I got a job at last.

Buhle, a 23-year-old IsiXhosa-speaking slaughterer from the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, has a grade eight education and has been working at the abattoir for three years.

Similarly, to Bongani and Jongikhaya, he was also just looking for any job, because he did not have one. These quotes highlight how difficult it is for these men to find work in South Africa. This could be due to the unstable and limited job market in South Africa. Both the halaal slaughterers and the secular slaughterers in the current study mentioned the high unemployment rate in South Africa, the limited job market, and economic difficulties as prominent problems in their lives. This finding can be linked to existing literature, which describes the high unemployment rate and stagnant economy in South Africa (Dias & Posel, 2007; Statistics South Africa, 2015). Leibbrandt et al. (2010) also indicate that one of the main social difficulties in South Africa is employment creation, which is not helped by labour market instabilities and slow economic growth in the country.

These findings can be linked to the legacy of apartheid, in which Blacks, Coloureds and those of Asiatic descent were afforded limited educational, political and work opportunities during apartheid's oppressive regime and many today are still trapped in this racialised cycle of poverty (CHEC, 2013; Kingdon & Knight, 2000). It is thus clear that the reasons why these participants (halaal and secular slaughterers) began working in abattoirs are also related to the legacy of apartheid and how it entrenched wealth inequality along racial lines, making social mobility for non-Whites extremely difficult. In contrast, the kosher slaughterers in the current study are both White, and it is thus possible that the legacy of apartheid did not influence them in the same way. By looking at the findings in section 4.2.2 and 4.2.4, it is also clear that the kosher slaughterers worked in the abattoir to fulfil a religious obligation to their faith and community, and not out of financial necessity like many of the other participants.

4.2.2 Education

The limited work opportunities in South Africa and the other African countries is one of the reasons why many Muslim participants work in an abattoir. However, their level of

education may have also contributed. Six of the halaal slaughterers were highly educated, ranging from grade 12 to a college degree, whilst four had limited education and did not finish grade 12 (see Table 3, p. 86). However, all the Muslim participants became halaal slaughterers because of a combination of religious passion, employment via an acquaintance, and limited work opportunities both in South Africa and other African countries. One of the halaal slaughterers, Emran, a 33-year-old immigrant from Malawi, indicated that he completed his Islamic studies, which included learning about halaal slaughtering, which is how he came to work as a halaal slaughterer. He states:

> I was learning that (Islamic studies) until the age of 15 and then I went to boarding school where I learn more about the Islamic studies and the slaughtering of beef and sheep.

This is in contrast with Abdul, a 48-year-old halaal slaughterer from the Western Cape province of South Africa, who has been working at the abattoir for 27 years and has limited education. During the interviews, Abdul spoke about how he wanted to study to be a chef but could not afford to. As a result, he only completed grade 11, this combined with his limited work experience were the contributing factors to his current situation working in the abattoir. He states:

> …I only finish grade 11, due to financial problems. I did not have any work experience and that is how I ended up at the abattoir.

Although only one of the halaal slaughterers indicated that his low level of education was the reason he began working in an abattoir, all the secular slaughterers argued that their low-level of education was the main contributing factor to their decision to work in an abattoir. All the secular slaughterers reported a low level of education, ranging between grade five and

grade 12 (see Table 3, p. 86). In contrast, kosher slaughterers must be Jewish and highly educated to be kosher slaughterers, whilst halaal slaughterers must be Muslim and receive training at an abattoir to become slaughterers. However, to be a secular slaughterer, the requirements are lower as there are no educational or religious qualifications required and workers receive training at the abattoir before they begin work. Jacob, a 25-year-old, secular slaughterer, had to leave school to get a job because his home situation was "very bad". He attributes this to why he now works in an abattoir. He states:

> I finished grade six, and then I had to get a job, because the situation were very bad, and we needed the money.

An important contributing factor regarding why these men work in an abattoir is their lack of education. Since education is not a requirement for secular slaughterers, working in an abattoir is an accessible job opportunity for these men, especially in the context of South Africa's high unemployment rate. This finding is aligned with the study by Abduhu et al. (2014), Ali and Jalal (2018) and Kingdon and Knight (2000), who indicated that people with higher education face lower unemployment rates than those with primary or secondary education. However, all the secular slaughterers in the current study are Black and Coloured men with a low level of education and these men's stories need to be understood within the context of South Africa's troubled past and history of oppression.

In contrast to the findings of the halaal and secular slaughterers, not every Jewish person can slaughter an animal. You need to have a certain level of education and training if you want to be a kosher slaughterer. This is one of the reasons why there are so few kosher slaughterers in South Africa. The two participants I interviewed argued that they did not want to be slaughterers, but the Jewish community needed slaughterers and they had the required education and training and, therefore, felt obligated to fulfil the needs of the Jewish community.

For example, Tzion, a 67-year-old English-speaking Rabbi, who has been working for 35 years as a slaughterer and 10 years at this abattoir, is highly educated and trained to be a kosher slaughterer. While he was studying to be a Rabbi, he learned about kosher slaughtering. He states that he became a slaughterer because the Jewish community needed more religious slaughterers:

> I came to Cape Town 35 years ago and the head of our community told me they needed people to slaughter and he asked me if I would help them for a few months with the slaughtering, and now that few months is 35 years already (laughing)…
>
> I did my training to be a Rabbi, and then I've learned everything. I think I'm the highest trained Rabbi in South Africa. We have to do a training course before we can be a slaughterer… I didn't want to be a slaughterer. I thought that I would be a supervisor or something to see if the other slaughterers do their work properly.

Daniel, a 63-year-old English-speaking immigrant Rabbi from Morocco, who has been working for 10 years at the abattoir, also speaks about how you need a certain level of training and education to be a kosher slaughterer:

> You get to a proficiency level where you are examined, tested, and then you get a certificate that you become a ritual slaughterer for the Jewish community.

Although both Daniel and Tzion did not express any desire to become kosher slaughterers, they were drawn to this career because there is a need for more kosher slaughterers and they wish to serve the Jewish community and their faith. They explained that they did not want to become slaughterers because they are aware that it is an unpleasant job. Daniel stated:

> It is not a very pleasant experience, it can never be pleasant, but you know it is a Biblical command and you do it for a religious purpose. And if you know it is a Biblical

command and you do it for a religious purpose, then you can deal with the work in a positive way.

Similarly, Tzion stated that although slaughtering is an unpleasant job you get used to it over time:

> The first day you watch, and you see an animal kicking and you think it is not good, it is not nice, but then you get used to it.

Although these two slaughterers experienced slaughtering as unpleasant, they indicated that they became accustomed to it over time and knew that they did it for the right reasons, and therefore they were able to deal with it positively.

4.2.3 Family Influence

Many of the halaal slaughterers stated that financial necessity and being able to provide for their families were major motivators behind their work. Abdul mentioned that he can now take care of his family because of his job in the abattoir:

> *Dis net dat elke dag dat ek geld kan verdien om vir my gesin broodwinner te wees en ek doen die werk vir die maandelikse inkomste en dat ek vir my gesin kan sorg en vir my vrou en kinders klere kan koop vir hulle en vorentoe gaan.* It is because I am the breadwinner of the family and I do this job to get a monthly salary to take care of my family and to buy food and clothes for my wife and children, so that we can move forward.

Ajmal echoed this sentiment below:

> *…ten minste weet ek, as ek nou hier werk, daar is darem die vasgestelde bedrag wat ek elke maand gaan kry.* At least I know if I work here I will get a fixed monthly salary.

Emran, an immigrant from Malawi, states:

> I also send money for my family in Malawi, so that is why I don't have a choice, I have to work here.

For Kareem, an immigrant from Somalia, financial necessity and supporting his family also play major roles in his decision to work in an abattoir. He states:

> There is no job in my country and that is why I came here. I have to make money to support my wife and my children in Somalia so that is why I came here.

For Hashid, an immigrant from Malawi, money also played a vital role and he indicated that he must work at the abattoir to send money for his family at home. Many of the immigrants in the study worked in the abattoir to send money back to their families in their home countries. This trend also highlights the dire economic circumstances in surrounding African countries and how immigrants are often forced to leave their families and seek work outside their home countries (see section 4.2.1). It may also refer to the social construction that men are considered the main breadwinners of the home. Out of the 10 halaal slaughterers, seven indicated that they were the only breadwinners in their families. Although it is clear from the literature and the collected data that slaughtering is a physically and emotionally challenging job (Dillard, 2008; Victor & Barnard, 2016), these halaal slaughterers choose to stay in their jobs out of a sense of wanting to provide for their families. The role of a primary breadwinner may also be an important part of how they construct their identity as men in their community (Novikova et al., 2005). All the halaal slaughterers mentioned that they must support their immediate family,

their wives and their children, whilst only Hashid, another halaal slaughterer, spoke about needing to provide for his extended family, which included his brother and sister.

The importance of economic stability plays a vital role in the lives of all the slaughterers in the current study. Participants highlighted that their jobs provided a fixed monthly salary, which helped them provide for their families. Like the halaal slaughterers, the secular slaughterers also indicated that they were working in an abattoir to provide for their families. Jack, a 26-year-old, IsiXhosa, secular slaughterer from the Eastern Cape province of South Africa speaks about how he must work so he can take care of his family in the Eastern Cape. He helps support his mother and sister and describes this below:

> To get a job to provide for the family, but I am happy in my job. But I am the breadwinner of the family and I must work.

He calls himself "the breadwinner", highlighting the important role men often take on in the family unit. Jack sees himself as the economic provider of his family and constructs this role as integral to his identity. Kevin, a 35-year-old immigrant from Zimbabwe also indicates that he works to financially support his family back in Zimbabwe. He states:

> I have to support my family, my son and my mother in Zimbabwe, that's why I come here to work here. I enjoy my work, because when I work I get money and when I get money I can support my family.

Jacob, a 25-year-old, IsiXhosa, secular slaughterer from the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, who has been working at the abattoir for three years, also supports his family in the Eastern Cape and speaks about the importance of being able to provide for his family:

> My mother was unemployed and are today still unemployed. I moved to Cape Town to get a job so that I can support her. I also have a child that I have to take care of.

Kanelo, a 32-year-old, IsiXhosa slaughterer from the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, who completed grade five, constructs himself as the financial provider in his family, despite his lack of education:

> *Senditsho ewe lonto ndingenanto, ndingafundanga and funeke ndi(support)e abantu basekhaya. Abantu endizalwe nabo.* I mean, I have nothing, I am not educated, and I have to support my brothers and sister, the people I grew up with.

Of the 12 secular slaughterers, nine indicated that they are the only breadwinners in their families. Like the halaal slaughterers, it is clear to me that the secular slaughterers work in the abattoir to financially support their families. While the halaal slaughterers mainly refer to their nuclear families, the families that the secular slaughterers referred to are mostly their extended families. Both the halaal slaughterers and secular slaughterers take on the role of "breadwinner" and it is important for them to be the economic provider in their family. They indicate in the interviews that being the breadwinner is how they love, protect and support their families. These factors seem central to their masculine identity and are a common thread amongst both the halaal slaughterers and secular slaughterers in the current study.

This finding is aligned with Novikova et al. (2005) who argue that the role of a man as the main breadwinner in the family is an important aspect of hegemonic masculinity. There is also evidence in the American, European and Asian literature that indicates that even if the man and woman have the same income, or even if a woman has a higher income than her husband, due to prominent gender discourse men still see themselves as the main breadwinner and provider of the family, whilst the women are seen as responsible for the family and housework (Gal & Kligman, 2000; Moen & Sweet, 2003; Novikova et al., 2005; Raley, Mattingly, & Bianchi, 2006; Taga, 2005). Kimmel (1994), and more recently Taga (2005), both

highlight how success in the workplace and a good income is important for men, and failure in the workplace can be linked to suicide in men.

4.2.4 "I do it for my Religion"

Another factor influencing why these participants keep working as halaal slaughterers is that it allows them to provide halaal meat for the Muslim community and is therefore religiously motivated. According to their religion, Muslim people may only eat halaal meat, and halaal meat can only be provided by a Muslim slaughterer, highlighting the important role that many halaal slaughterers play in their communities. Isma'il changed jobs and became a halaal slaughterer because it enabled him to provide meat for his people. He states:

> …so, I come here to work here to make halaal for the people. I do it for my religion to slaughter the animals for the Muslim people.

Emran similarly states:

> They pick me up to come and work here as a Muslim slaughterer to make Halaal for this people in Cape Town.

Hashid also cites the same reasons as Isma'il and Emran. There is a sense of pride in these statements because these participants believe they are serving both their community and religion. This stands in stark contrast to how abattoir work is viewed by many in society as harsh and cruel (Dillard, 2008). However, the faith aspect of slaughtering must not be discounted (Farouk, 2013). Research shows that halaal and kosher slaughtering involves prayer, an acknowledgement that we must pray to God first for permission to slaughter the animal and that we must slaughter the animal in the most humane and painless way possible (Bonne & Verbeke, 2008; Farouk, 2013; Farouk et al., 2014). This spiritual commitment to

both God and the animal that is being slaughtered may allow these slaughterers to construct their work in a fulfilling and meaningful light. By acknowledging both God and the animal's role in the slaughtering process the slaughterer may feel more connected to his work and the life he is taking. This could be emotionally healing and help counteract the negative factors associated with his job.

However, despite the protective factor of religious faith amongst halaal and kosher slaughterers, it is clear from the findings that other religious slaughterers experienced their work as challenging. Ashraf states:

> *Ek is nie gewoond aan doodmaak nie… dit kos 'n mens met hare op die tande.* I'm not used to killing…you need to have hair on your teeth.

Like the halaal slaughterers, the kosher slaughterers also need to perform a certain ritual for the meat to be kosher. Kosher slaughterers need a special educational qualification to be allowed to slaughter. Since there are not many qualified kosher slaughterers in South Africa, these two participants indicated that they must slaughter at different abattoirs to provide food for the Jewish community of the Western Cape province of South Africa. Tzion states:

> I am fulfilling a commandment to be able to supply kosher meat to the Jewish people.

Daniel, similarly to Tzion, states that he is a slaughterer to "provide kosher meat for the Jewish flock, for the Jewish community". He emphasises the importance of the religious ritual slaughter in his statement:

> We are not just slaughterers of animals; we are religious ritual slaughterers.

Similarly, to the halaal slaughterers in this study, the kosher slaughterers are also motivated by the religious purpose of their work and they feel they are serving the needs of

their religious community. Although the kosher slaughterers provide food for the Jewish community, they also slaughter because it is a Biblical religious command. This is written in the Hebrew Bible, and that is an important concept for them. Daniel speaks about how slaughtering is a requirement of their religion and emphasises that it is a Biblical command. He states:

> It is a religious required process to slaughter animals. It's a Biblical religious command. God allows us to slaughter animals as is written in the Bible.

Like Daniel, Tzion also speaks about how slaughtering is a Biblical command. He states:

> You are fulfilling a religious commandment enabling other people to eat. The animal was created for me, the Bible permits it.

These quotes solidify the belief that the purpose of kosher slaughtering is to support the Jewish community and to meet the requirements of their religion. These findings suggest that the religious community of the Jewish and Muslim slaughterers socially sanction the work of these ritual slaughterers. Lerner and Rabello (2006, p. 49) argue that the act of ritual slaughter is not seen by other Jews or Muslims as a "wanton act of cruelty" but instead is "a manifestation of religious ethics".

It is clear from these findings that the kosher slaughterers approach their work as a function of their faith and prayer, and purpose is intimately interwoven into their work. They also acknowledge God and ask his permission to take the life of the animal during the slaughtering process (Havinga, 2010). When we reframe their work in the abattoir through the lens of faith and their relationship with God, we can see slaughtering in a different light and it

becomes easier to understand why religious slaughterers cope better with their work than the secular slaughterers in the study.

Although eight of the IsiXhosa, secular slaughterers grew up in the African culture in the Eastern Cape, two of them speak about how in their religion and culture as Africans, they grow up with slaughtering and have been exposed to the slaughtering of animals since they were young. Like the halaal and kosher slaughterers, some of these slaughterers believe their work is part of African traditional beliefs and religion and therefore they are accustomed to it. For example, Jack indicates that he was only 12 when he saw his parents slaughter a sheep for the first time. This history of being exposed to slaughtering is one of the reasons he decided to work in an abattoir when he was looking for work. He describes this below:

> When I grew up in the Eastern Cape, we also had cows and sheep and goats, and I slaughter them. In my religion, the African religion, I grew up with slaughtering. So, I am happy in my job, because I am used to it and we usually slaughter over Decembers when I go home to the Eastern Cape.

Jacob, another IsiXhosa, secular slaughterer gives the same reasons as Jack. He speaks about how slaughtering animals is part of his culture as an African and this is why he started working in an abattoir. He states:

> I'm enjoying the work because I'm used to working hard. In the Eastern Cape, we had to work hard, so I'm used to it… I grew up with slaughtering in the Eastern Cape because it is part of our culture.

Jacob also argues that he has a strong work ethic and is used to the hard work of slaughtering because of his childhood in the Eastern Cape. The interviews thus revealed that while most of the secular slaughterers worked in an abattoir due to their low level of education,

the limited job opportunities and unstable economy in South Africa, it was only Jack and Jacob who seem to actively choose the work of slaughtering in an abattoir, because of their experience with slaughtering animals as a part of their African culture. A person's culture can differentiate them from other people and societies. Culture refers to an individual's language, dressing, music, work, arts, religion, etc (Idang, 2015). Religion is thus a part of a culture, and the two concepts are related to each other. A person's culture also includes social norms, taboos and values (Idang, 2015). A person's values refer to their beliefs about what is right and wrong and what is important in life. Culture is important in the construction of an individual's identity (Usborne & De la Sablonnière, 2014). A person's culture helps them to understand how to be a person in the world, how to live a good life, how to interact with other people, and which aspects of situations require attention and processing capacity (Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, & Coon, 2002). It is also important that individuals have a clear understanding of their culture, to enhance their psychological well-being (Usborne & De la Sablonnière, 2014) as well as their identity clarity, their self-esteem and overall well-being (Usborne & Taylor, 2010). According to Usborne and Taylor (2010), someone with a clear cultural identity will know and understand the values, norms, and behaviours that are related to their cultural group, and they can rely on these when engaged in the construction of a clearly defined personal identity.

4.2.5 Employment via an Acquaintance

According to three of the halaal slaughterers in this study, they did not seek a slaughtering job but found their jobs through coincidence or acquaintances and friends. Ajmal, a 39-year-old, Afrikaans-speaking halaal slaughterer from the Western Cape province of South Africa, who completed grade 12 and recently started his job as a slaughterer, refers to his friend when he states:

> *Hy het een Sondag by my huis gekom, ek was uit gewees om koeksisters te verkoop, en toe gesels hy saam met my vrou. En hy het gesê hy soek nog 'n mannetjie hier, want hy wil met vakansie gaan en ammekaar dan uhm, as hy wil gaan dan is daar nie iemand wat in sy plek kan werk nie, want hy is die enigste Muslim slagter hier. En toe het ek maar net die Maandag gekom, hy het gesê ek moet die Maandag kom en so, en hy sal vir my train. Ek het dit nog nooit voorheen gedoen nie. Hy sal vir my train en alles want hy doen dit al meer as 20 jaar. Ek doen dit nou maar amper 'n jaar. En toe kom ek en toe sien ek okey, dit is okey vir my en so.* He came to my home one Sunday. I was not home at the moment, but he talked to my wife and told her that they needed another person at the abattoir. Sometimes he wants to go on leave, and then they need another slaughterer to work in his place because he is the only Muslim slaughterer at the abattoir. And then I went the Monday, as he had told me to come that Monday to the abattoir where he will train me. I had not done it before, but he has been doing it for more than 20 years already and he said he would train me. I then went to the abattoir, and saw it was okay for me and so I do it.

Ali, a 48-year-old English-speaking halaal slaughterer from the Western Cape province of South Africa, who indicated that he has a college degree and has been working for more than 10 years at the abattoir, was also told about the job by a friend. He states:

> I was asked to help somebody out and for me it was okay, and unfortunately, he left and I'm still here.

Finding work through friends or acquaintances in the Muslim community may suggest that working in an abattoir is socially sanctioned by others in the community. Zuhair, a 45-year-old Afrikaans-speaking halaal slaughterer from the Western Cape province of South

Africa, who completed grade 11, has been slaughtering for 10 years at the abattoir. During the interviews he highlighted how chance was a major motivator behind him working in an abattoir:

> *Man, die oppertunity het na my kant toe gekom toe ek sien hulle soek slagters hier, en dit was iets wat my interesseer het.* The opportunity came to me when I saw they were looking for slaughterers here, and the work interested me.

This discussion of employment via acquaintance demonstrated that people in the Muslim community in the Western Cape province seem to support each other because Muslim participants mentioned how their friends helped them find work in an abattoir. This also indicates that the Muslim community approve of halaal slaughtering work.

I did not find any literature regarding what motivates people to work in abattoirs, making this research unique. Therefore, the factors that I identified above are all new and represent a significant contribution to the existing research in this field. In the following section, I will report the findings related to the physical harm experienced by slaughterers.

4.3 Physical Harm

According to Dillard (2008), Human Rights Watch (2004) and Victor and Barnard (2016), slaughtering is fast production work. The slaughtering environment combined with the fast slaughtering of animals may lead to numerous on-duty injuries and there are also environmental risk factors associated with physical injuries (Dillard, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2004). In this section, I will report the findings related to the physical harm experienced by the halaal, kosher and secular slaughterers. I will also report on the viewpoints of the managers, with regards to the physical harm of the slaughterers. I will discuss the findings in similar literature and contextualise it in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Theory.

The sub-themes for the three slaughtering groups and the managers are reported in Table 5 below.

Table 5

Physical Harm Experienced by Slaughterers

	Halaal slaughterers	**Kosher slaughterers**	**Secular slaughterers**	**Managers**
Physical harm	Occupational risk factors on the slaughter line. On-duty injuries. Financial stress. Production-line stress. Exaustion.	On-duty injuries.	On-duty injuries. Financial stress. Production-line stress. Exhaustion.	On-duty injuries. Financial stress. Production-line stress. Exhaustion.

4.3.1 Occupational Risk Factors on the Slaughter Line

The slaughtering environment (or “dirty area”) can be either very hot or cold. The floor of the dirty area is usually wet and slippery because water is sprayed constantly to clean away the blood of the animals. The dirty area usually has a rancid smell from the blood and dead animals. When the slaughterers slaughter the animals, they work with dangerous machinery and sharp knives, which are all environmental factors that may influence the slaughterer’s physical health and well-being (Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, 2009;

Human Rights Watch, 2004). Ali, a halaal slaughterer, mentions the high and low temperatures in the abattoir and the fact that everything is slippery and wet because of the constant process of cleaning up. He states:

> In the summer it is hot and in the winter it is cold. We can feel the air if it is hot or cold. So we cannot put an aircon there. Clean, yes it have to be clean. We make it dirty from the blood of the animal, so after every time we slaughter, we have to clean up.

Halaal slaughterers must be clean, and therefore it is part of their ritual to start their day with prayer, a shower and then they must put on their protective clothing. Emran emphasises this ritual below:

> …when you slaughter halaal you have to wash yourself, we have to take a shower in the morning and pray and then come to work. We also have to be clean, when you go to the toilet, you have to clean up before you start working again, that is for our halaal, and then you start slaughtering.

The halaal slaughterers also mention the dangerous equipment, such as the sharp knives, they must work with every day on the slaughter line. Abdul states:

> *As ek nou in die oggend by die werk aankom, dan berei ek my voor vir die dag se werk wat moet gedoen word, ek sluip my messe, kry al die knippe bymekaar, maak my basies reg vir die dag wat begin.* When I get to work in the morning, I prepare myself for the daily tasks, I sharpen my knives and get all the sharp equipment together, basically I prepare myself for the day.

Ali reiterates this and the dangers of working with sharp knives:

> Careful yes we should be, cautious yes we should be, because we are working with sharp objects and you can cut yourself.

Emran also mentions the importance of the sharp knives, because it is part of the Muslim ritual to ensure that the animals bleed out completely:

> When you cut, you only cut one time, not twice, so the knife have to be sharp so that the sheep does not feel pain. The sheep may not feel pain, and that is why you only cut once. So you pull the knife one time so that the sheep bleed one time. And then another thing, when I slaughter the sheep, after I cut him, they have to wait for six minutes before they touch him and for the beef, they have to wait seven to eight minutes before they touch him. They must wait so that the blood can come out properly.

These dangerous circumstances and physical stressors combined with the fast production line in the abattoir puts enormous stress on the employee's well-being, which may lead to trauma and a loss of concentration, which can also lead to on-duty injuries. This finding is reflected in the studies by Beirne (2004), Broadway and Stull (2006), Dillard (2008), Human Rights Watch (2004) and Pearson (2004), who report that the dangerous environment, equipment and machinery in the abattoir may cause on-duty injuries for slaughterers.

4.3.2 On-Duty Injuries

The environmental factors of the slaughter floor mentioned above, such as the slippery floors, animals that are still alive, the dangerous machinery and the sharp objects the slaughterers work with, may cause on-duty injuries. The halaal slaughterers in the current study mentioned on-duty injuries that may occur on the slaughter floor. Ajmal gives an example of

an on-duty injury he experienced and speaks about how he was attacked by an animal that was still alive:

> *Ek kry baie seer by die werk, ek meen, soms lewe die diere nog. Nou, 2, 3 weke terug het die stunner geskiet, toe val die bees uit, eintlik dit was 'n bul, toe staan die bul op, toe het die bul dan vir my ge-attack. Toe het ek die gun gehad, en ek het geval, toe staan ek net vinnig op en skiet die bul.* I hurt myself a lot at work, I mean, sometimes the animals are still alive. Now, two, three weeks ago, the stunner shot the cattle, actually, it was a bull, he fell over, but then he stood up again and he started to attacked me. I fell over, but then I quickly stood up and I had the gun and I shot the bull.

Emran also reiterates the dangers of working on the slaughter floor below:

> The physical challenges is, sometimes the people who shock the animal does not do it properly and then the animal is still shaking his head and then you can cut yourself. Accidents is sometimes due to the sharp knives you are working with and sometimes you are scared maybe the sheep is going to kick you, and sometimes you cut your finger something like that.

Ibrahim, another halaal slaughterer also mentions the fact that you should be very careful when slaughtering the big, powerful animals, because they can attack you. Kareem mentions that he sometimes cuts himself by accident whilst on-duty and that you always need to be careful in the abattoir.

Ali speaks about how the slaughtering process can affect your body in the long term:

> You have to bend down and slaughter your animal, so automatically it affects your spine. When it comes to ritual slaughtering, you have to bend very low to the ground,

> because the animal is laying on the ground, so for us it is basically your back that is hitting you at the end of the day.

Both Abdul's and Ajmal's wives speak about the physical injuries their husbands sustained at work. Layla, a 30-year-old English-speaking Muslim woman and the wife of Ajmal, emphasises how her husband's work does not affect him mentally, but it does physically:

> Mentally no, maybe physically yes, because he's got a back problem, so physically it is a bit straining on his back, but he can cope with that.

The most common injuries for the halaal slaughterers in the current study include: slipping on wet floors, which may cause sprained ankles or fractured bones, animals that may attack and kick you, cuts, wounds or back problems. The secular slaughterers of the current study similarly indicated that they often sustain injuries during working hours. The risk factors that cause these on-duty injuries are the sharp knives the slaughterers work with and the risk of being attacked by a live animal whilst slaughtering. Kevin, the 35-year-old, secular, immigrant slaughterer from Zimbabwe highlights the danger of working with sharp knives in the abattoir:

> When I work with the blood I don't have a problem, but with the knives, you know knives is dangerous and you can cut yourself or someone else, and that is why I'm alert all the time.

Kevin also speaks about other risks contributing to on-duty injuries, such as the risk of being attacked by a live animal whilst slaughtering:

> We cannot slaughter the live animals, we have to stun them first and if we do not stun them, the animals can fight with us, you see? Sometimes the sheep is not properly stunned and when I cut his throat, he can kick me and I have to be careful that he don't kick me in my face and on my head.

Mfuneko, a 48-year-old IsiXhosa slaughterer from the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa speaks about his on-duty injuries from working with sharp knives:

> Sometimes I get hurt when I cut myself with the sharp knives. I will then go to safety and they gave me gloves to wear and then I have to work further, but if my hand is too sore, I go to the doctor and I take leave for a few days.

Like the halaal slaughterers, the secular slaughterers also mentioned the long-term physical effects of slaughtering. For example, Kanelo, the 35-year-old IsiXhosa slaughterer, who has worked at the abattoir for 10 years, speaks about the long-term physical effects of slaughtering:

> I don't know if it's the work or not, but my body don't feel like it used to feel. Maybe it is the way I'm working and all the heavy equipment I'm working with. One thing I've noticed is that my hips bother me and it was not like this before.

It seems as if Kanelo also experienced the long-term physical effect of slaughtering. Both the halaal slaughterers and the secular slaughterers indicate that there are long-term physical effects of working in the abattoir, highlighting an area of concern.

After analysing the interviews of the managers of secular abattoirs and religious sanctioned abattoirs (halaal and kosher), it is clear that slaughtering does involve numerous physical challenges. The abattoir managers corroborates these findings. Francois, a 51-year-

old Afrikaans-speaking manager, who has been working at a secular abattoir for 26 years, states that if slaughterers do not adhere to the safety regulations, they might hurt themselves. It is, however, possible that slaughterers can hurt themselves even if they adhere to the safety regulations, but if that happens, there is a first aid team available at the abattoir. Francois states:

> There are some rules they know they have to adhere to, so they may not play with knives and joke with each other with knives in their hands.

Leon, a 51-year-old Afrikaans-speaking manager, who has been working for 20 years at a halaal abattoir, argues that the slaughterers must be careful, especially with live animals. He states:

> And the cattle, when he is shocked he is not always completely unconscious, so he can still kick them, so they have to be careful with what they do. You need to concentrate on your work, because the moment you do not concentrate, you can hurt yourself. So they have to pay attention to what they do all day, otherwise, there will be mistakes.

It is thus clear that the managers of both religiously sanctioned and secular abattoirs confirm the statements of the halaal and the secular slaughterers. I could not find literature that indicated and compared the viewpoints of abattoir managers working at halaal, kosher and secular abattoirs, therefore the findings of the abattoir managers are thus new to the literature.

The risk factors that contribute to on-duty injuries are the same risk factors that the halaal, secular slaughterers and managers speak about in their interviews, highlighting a trend in the findings. Similar injuries are reported in the article by the Human Rights Watch (2004), as well as in the studies by Beirne (2004), Broadway and Stull (2006), Cohidon et al. (2009), Dillard (2008), Leibler and Perry (2017), Sundstrup et al. (2014) and Victor and Barnard (2016). Broadway and Stull (2006) and Human Rights Watch (2004) both indicated that on-

duty injuries are more frequent in abattoirs than in any comparable industry. Victor (2012) examined the records of the stunners and compared it to the records of other workers in the abattoir. She found that out of the 28 slaughterers working on the stunning floor, 16 injuries were reported in the last year, whilst only one injury was reported amongst the other 27 workers in the abattoir that did not work in the stunning area. It can thus be argued that slaughtering has a more prominent effect on the slaughterers working on the kill floor, than on those who are working in the other areas of the slaughter line. According to Els and De La Rey (2006), injuries harm employees, as well as the organisation, so it is, therefore, important to try to prevent injuries as much as possible.

I believe that these injuries can also result in slaughterers missing work and absence is not always paid sick leave and may result in job loss, which can cause additional stress. Injuries may also result in medical expenses, which are not always fully covered by the abattoir and whilst there are safety precautions at each abattoir, accidents do occur more often than they should. Although there are many occupational risk factors which lead to frequent injuries, there is a first aid team available at the abattoir, and if injuries are very serious, slaughterers are sent to the hospital.

In contrast with the above-mentioned findings, the kosher slaughterers of the current study indicated that slaughtering does not cause any physical harm to them. The physical harm involved in kosher slaughtering has decreased in the last few years, due to the high-tech machinery that is used. Daniel discusses how the machinery has developed over the years:

> Years ago the way to immobilise the animal was a lot more painful, more dangerous to restrain it, to contain it, so that it could be slaughtered. Today it is much easier. It took a couple of seconds to hold the animal in place, and it is immobile at the moment of slaughter, so it is no risk.

The machinery can hold the animal in an upright position while it is being slaughtered and as a result, there is minimal risk to the slaughterer. Kosher slaughterers do not allow the stunning process and they slaughter the animal by cutting the throat. It can thus be argued that the influence of slaughtering on the physical well-being of kosher slaughterers is less than on the halaal slaughterers and the secular slaughterers. The kosher slaughterers did not mention any occupational risk factors, on-duty injuries or job-related stress factors. This could be due to their slaughtering techniques, advanced machinery and equipment, as well as their positive, spiritually focused coping techniques and strong family and community ties.

The kosher slaughterers are also the highest-paid group of all the slaughterers (see Table 3, p. 86), which eliminates many additional stressors such as financial strain. The fact that slaughtering is not their only job can also contribute to better coping because on the other days of the week they have a break from slaughtering while they are busy with other Jewish community duties. They are the oldest of all the participants (see Table 3, p. 86), and their life experience may thus also contribute to better coping strategies than the other slaughterers. The two kosher slaughterers are both White, and it can be argued that they do not struggle as much because of their privileged background in the context South Africa's history of racial oppression and therefore their life experiences will be different from the other participants. These are all factors that might explain why they do not experience as many physical challenges or psychological distress as the other slaughterers. The findings regarding kosher slaughterers are also a unique contribution to the literature, as there is currently no research on the well-being of kosher slaughterers.

4.3.3 Financial Stress

According to Sohail and Rehman (2015), all the current definitions of stress indicate that stress is an individual experience and people experience stress due to the high demands

and pressures in their lives. The definition of stress also includes an individual's ability to manage and cope with these demands. Furthermore, job stress may lead to bad physical and mental health, injury, social problems, and poor job performance (Sohail & Rehman, 2015). The job-related stress factors that I have identified from the interviews include long working hours; pressure to work faster; environmental factors such as slippery floors, hot and cold temperatures; dangerous working conditions such as exposure to dangerous machinery and equipment; and low income. If employers do not pay enough attention to these risk factors, it may lead to poor physical, social and psychological health for employees. However, another form of stress is financial stress and some of the halaal slaughterers indicated that their salary is insufficient to cover their expenses and care for their families. Hashid, an immigrant from Malawi, illustrates this concern:

> The money makes me feel stressed because my family need money and they call me to send money and then I don't always have money to send them, but they need it and then I get stressed. I have to send money home for my family, my daughter and my brother and sister.

Similar to the halaal slaughterers, the secular slaughterers also indicated that their low salary causes stress in their lives. This stress may also contribute towards poor physical, social and psychological health in the long-term. The secular slaughterers speak about this financial stress below:

> You work very hard for a very small salary. I have so much problems and stress, but I can't solve it, because I don't have enough money.
>
> (Bongani, 33, IsiXhosa slaughterer working at a secular abattoir)

> The only way in which this job really affects me is financially. It doesn't pay good and that makes me feel stress. I can't leave this job, because then I don't have food to eat. (Kanelo, 32, IsiXhosa slaughterer working at a secular abattoir)

One of the biggest stress factors for secular and halaal slaughterers was their low income. None of the kosher slaughterers however voiced this concern. Although only one halaal slaughterer highlighted this, all the secular slaughterers in this study indicated that their low salaries and financial stress represented major challenges in their lives. This was corroborated by the managers of secular abattoirs and religiously sanctioned abattoirs. Many of the managers stated that slaughterers often leave their job due to the low salary and lack of work challenges. Jaco, a manager of a Halaal abattoir, expresses this:

> In most conversations that I have with slaughterers, I notice that their salary is the main reason why they are resigning, and it is not due to physical work or hard work or something else.

The biographical questionnaires of the halaal slaughterers indicate that many of them fall in the low socio-economic income group. All of them have families to support and, as a consequence, their low salaries cause stress in their lives. It is important to note that the secular slaughterers are the lowest paid group amongst all the slaughterers (see Table 3, p. 86), highlighting how their low salaries are genuine concerns in their lives. The kosher slaughterers are the highest-paid group (see Table 3, p. 86), and thus stand in contrast to this finding of financial stress. The financial stress that the halaal and secular slaughterers express in the quotes above also highlight how these men construct themselves as the breadwinners and financial providers for their family. Kopp et al. (2007) similarly indicated that low income may cause stress and illness amongst employees in any workplace setting.

4.3.4 Production-Line Stress

Another stress factor is the high pressure that the halaal and secular slaughterers experience at work. The production line at an abattoir is fast and the abattoir is often understaffed, which puts a lot of pressure on the slaughterers. This pressure at work may contribute to increased stress, a loss of concentration, fatigue and poor work performance, which could influence the quality of the product, the meat.

The pressure at work is highlighted by two of the secular slaughterers in the quotes below:

> It is the people, the people pressure us to work faster and finish our work.
>
> (Jan, 26, Afrikaans-speaking slaughterer working at a secular abattoir)

> Sometimes you have to do the job of two people, when there is not enough people to do the job, and that is a lot of pressure on me.
>
> (Bongani, 33, IsiXhosa slaughterer working at a secular abattoir)

Both the halaal and secular slaughterers indicated that they were under a lot of stress at work. This stress is mostly due to the dangerous environment, lengthy hours and fast production line of the abattoir. Garry, a 55-year-old Afrikaans-speaking manager, who has been working at a secular abattoir for 30 years, indicated that the high volumes of work and the long hours cause stress amongst the employees:

> …we are used to slaughtering 600 pigs a day and some days we have to slaughter 2000, so high volumes are definitely a challenge. Then it is also extended working hours, the extended working hours also sometimes affect the slaughterers' concentration.

According to the managers at the halaal abattoirs, the long hours, the work volumes and the repetitive nature of the work are some of the factors that cause the most stress for halaal slaughterers. Jaco, a 34-year-old Afrikaans-speaking manager of a halaal and kosher abattoir speaks about the pressure of the fast production line:

> When we slaughter a lot, they are usually under pressure. The biggest challenge is to do the work as neatly, cleanly and quickly as possible.

Albert, a 39-year-old Afrikaans-speaking manager who has worked at a halaal abattoir for six years, argues that the halaal slaughterers' work is repetitive, which compounded with the long work hours, causes pressure amongst the slaughterers. He states:

> So there is no variety in their work. Yes, you get stumped and you do not do it with the same precision, you just do it to finish the work. I think the pressure at work is also due to the long hours at work and the few hours they spend at home.

Albert's thoughts regarding the work in the halaal abattoirs are corroborated by the halaal slaughterers, who highlighted their various physical stressors at work, including the pressure they experience at work. These work conditions appear to be a recipe for disaster in the abattoir and should be a concern for abattoir managers, since the physical stress may lead to further social and psychological problems. The job-related stress factors that both the halaal slaughterers and the secular slaughterers experienced include productivity and financial stress. The pressure at work, the fast pace of the work, the long hours, the monotonous routine, violent nature of the work and the low salary are all factors that contribute to stress amongst these slaughterers. Similar to the findings of the halaal and secular slaughterers, Hillier et al. (2005) indicated that in a work setting, where there is too much pressure and too many demands placed on an employee, the employee may develop workplace stress. I also found in the literature that

violent working conditions and injury (Strümpfer et al., 2009) and high job demands (Loretto et al., 2005) are all factors that may cause stress and illness amongst employees in any workplace setting. Employers must pay attention to stressed employees, since workplace stress may contribute to poor employee performance, poor employee morale, lack of autonomy, job insecurity and ultimately may have a major influence on the overall physical, social and psychological well-being of an employee (Hillier et al., 2005; Khan & Khurshid, 2017; Kopp et al., 2007; Loretto et al., 2005; Strümpfer et al., 2009; Tov & Chan, 2012).

The kosher slaughterers of the current study, however, stand in contrast with this finding as they did not mention any form of job-related stress in their lives (see section 4.3.2 for possible reasons).

4.3.5 Exhaustion

Working as a slaughterer is difficult because of the long hours, hard physical labour, boring and repetitive nature of the work and fast production-line. These risk factors may cause exhaustion and fatigue amongst slaughterers, which may lead to poor work performance and further pressure and stress. Furthermore, exhaustion may lead to slaughterers making mistakes in their work due to a loss of concentration and on-duty injuries. All these risk factors may affect the quality of the meat. For example, one of the halaal slaughterers, Kareem, indicated that he is often tired from the hard work and long working hours in the abattoir. He states:

> When I started to slaughter I was very tired all the time, but now it is better. I'm still very tired, but you get used to it.

Ajmal's wife, Layla also stated that the only way in which work really affects her husband is physically and he is tired all the time:

> Other than him being tired, nothing else has changed. He is still the same person that I've known for 7 years, so no, he haven't change only for him being tired all the time. It is not like he is moody or anything. Just physically he is tired.

However, all the Muslim wives in the study are adamant that their spouses' work only has a physical effect on them and not an emotional one. During the interviews, these women did not seem interested in exploring whether their husbands are emotionally affected by their work and only emphasised how their husbands are only affected physically. It could be that the Muslim wives did not want to share their husband's emotional challenges with me, as they might feel that it is too private for a research interview. It could also be that the halaal slaughterers do not have any emotional challenges and therefore there was nothing to talk about.

The secular slaughterers also experienced exhaustion, which is highlighted below:

> Your body don't feel free, you are always tired. Sometimes I am very tired at work and other times it is better again. The one week you feel alright, and the next week you are so tired again.
>
> (Kanelo, 32, IsiXhosa slaughterer working at a secular abattoir)

> I don't even have enough strength to pick up my child. You are just tired all the time. Some days I struggle to get up in the morning because of the tiredness, but you know you have to get up and go back to that place (work).
>
> (Bongani, 33, IsiXhosa slaughterer working at a secular abattoir)

It is clear from the quotes above that not only does the exhaustion and fatigue these men experience affect their actual work in the abattoir but it also affects their home life as well.

The fact that Bongani referred to the abattoir as “that place” may indicate contempt and that he dislikes his work and workplace. All the slaughterers, except the kosher slaughterers, indicated that they were exhausted from the long hours and fast production-line at work. The kosher slaughterers only worked a few hours a day, and they only slaughtered on Mondays at this abattoir and seemed to slaughter on average fewer animals per day than the halaal and secular slaughterers. The lower volume of work amongst kosher slaughterers explains why they did not report fatigue and exhaustion, whilst the Muslim and secular slaughterers reported high levels of fatigue and exhaustion as a result of their work. The lack of fatigue amongst kosher slaughterers also may have contributed to their more positive mindset and approach to their work. The managers at both the halaal and secular abattoirs acknowledged the fatigue experienced by their employees. This is expressed in the excerpts below:

> And then it’s also fatigue, the slaughterers are sometimes very tired and it also affects their concentration and they can make mistakes at work.
>
> (Gary, 30, English-speaking manager at a secular abattoir)

> Uhm, it’s long hours, and I think it’s their biggest physical challenge. It’s long hours they work and the working conditions are wet and bloody and fast all the time and the work is very draining for them.
>
> (Albert, 39, Afrikaans-speaking manager at a Halaal abattoir)

The repetitive work at abattoirs may lead to boredom and further exhaustion, which is illustrated by Cobus, a 50-year-old Afrikaans-speaking manager who has been working at a halaal abattoir for six years. He states:

> To stand on his feet all day long. They do the same thing over and over every day. Every slaughterer has a slaughtering station that he manages and he does that for the whole day. It later becomes like a running machine.

All the managers acknowledge the difficult working conditions their employees are working under, however, none of the managers appeared to have any solutions or plans to resolve the situation. This absence of suggestions to improve the working conditions in the abattoirs amongst both the slaughterers and the managers is striking throughout the findings and may indicate the apathy and helplessness that both the managers and slaughterers feel at work. None of the participants verbalised a way to change these poor working conditions. However, there are safety precautions at the abattoir that the slaughterers must adhere to, to prevent on-duty injuries.

The above findings correspond with the Human Rights Watch (2004) report, which indicated that working as a slaughterer is physically demanding, challenging, and tiring, with long hours, which leaves the employees exhausted at the end of the day. The Human Rights Watch (2004) report also indicated that abattoir employees often go straight to sleep after work, to recover physically. The kosher slaughterers in the current study, however, stand in contrast to this finding.

With regards to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Theory, the microsystems of the slaughterers include the abattoir, their colleagues, managers, family members, and friends. These microsystems may have a positive or negative influence on the slaughterers' well-being. The working environment of a slaughterer thus represents a microsystem and from the above-mentioned findings, section 4.3.1-4.3.5, as well as the literature, it is clear that there are many risk factors in this microsystem that may have a negative influence on a slaughterers'

physical well-being. In the following section, I will discuss the social harm experienced by slaughterers.

4.4 Social Harm

In this section, I will report on the social harm experienced by the halaal, kosher and secular slaughterers. I will also include the findings of the managers and their viewpoints on the slaughterers' social well-being. I will compare the findings with similar literature and contextualise the findings in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Theory. The sub-themes for each slaughtering group and the managers are reported in Table 6 below.

Table 6

Social Harm Experienced by Slaughterers

	Halaal slaughterers	**Kosher slaughterers**	**Secular slaughterers**	**Managers**
Social harm.	Reactions from other people.	Reactions from other people.	"Sometimes I get angry."	Violent behaviour. Alcohol and drug use.

4.4.1 Reactions from Other People

The halaal slaughterers experienced mostly positive reactions from others in response to their work in the abattoir. Family, friends and others in their community appeared to be happy for them, often making jokes about their jobs. The Muslim community seemed to be happy because the Halaal slaughterers were performing ritual slaughtering both in the abattoir and if requested at the homes of others.

According to Amilah, Abdul's wife, his work as a slaughterer does not affect her in any way. She states:

> It's a job he has chosen, and I met him as a slaughterer, and that's how I got to know him, and like I've said, he loves what he does. And I believe if you love what you do, then you make a success. I do not have a problem with it, and it does not affect me.

Amilah also states that none of their friends or family has ever made any negative comments about his work. This was a common theme amongst the halaal slaughterers, as well as the kosher slaughterers. Kareem, an immigrant slaughterer from Somalia, argues that his family is happy about his job, however, his friends do question his feelings surrounding the slaughter of animals:

> My friends sometimes ask me how I feel when I slaughter the sheep and then I say fine, it is my job, I don't have a problem with my job. But my family is far, and they are happy that I'm a slaughterer.

In the statement above, he defends his job and deflects any possible negative reactions regarding his job which he may receive. Isma'il also mentions positive reactions from his family and friends and highlights his role as the breadwinner in the family:

> My friends, especially my family and my wife, she stays in Cape Town, she is happy for me, she don't have a problem with the work. If I can get this job, she is happy for me. She is happy because I bring the bread for the table.

According to Ashraf, his friends and family and other Muslim people from the community are happy that he is a slaughterer because he can perform ritual slaughter for others. He states:

> They are happy about the slaughtering. In our religion there are times, when a child is born, Christmas time, and on a lot of those occasions, we have to slaughter something. So now, I can do it myself and my friends recommend me to do the slaughtering.

Ajmal's wife, Layla, is also happy that Ajmal can perform ritual slaughters at home for their family and friends on religious holidays. She states:

> But I know that it is normal for us in our religion… So basically, I was not used to it, but I come to accept it…

Layla indicated that she would not be able to do this work because she is a soft-hearted person, but she accepts her husband's job because she knows that he does it for their religion:

> I wouldn't be able to do it, but it doesn't affect me at all. I don't think that my life is in danger because he does this work (laughing). I know he do it to serve our community.

Layla uses religious reasons to deflect any possible negative reactions she and Ajmal may experience because of his work in the abattoir. Using religion to justify slaughter in an abattoir was a common theme amongst all the halaal and kosher slaughterers in the study. Similarly, to Layla, Salma, a 42-year-old English-speaking Muslim woman, who has been married to Ali for 15 years, also argues that she does not have a problem with Ali's work, because he is still a good husband and a good father. With regards to their friends, she also states that they are happy he can perform "spiritual slaughtering" at their homes.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the halaal slaughterers' microsystem includes their primary family members, broader family network and friends. These microsystems appear to have a positive view of the halaal slaughterers' work because they are spiritual slaughterers who play an important religious role in their communities. The halaal slaughterers' wives who

participated in the study appear to be happy about their husbands' work. When their wives were asked about their husband's work, they responded with statements like: "I am glad he has a job". This may signal how these women construct their husbands as the primary breadwinners. The construction of men as breadwinners is especially important now, because of the high unemployment rate and dire economic circumstances in South Africa, which contribute to the dissemination of this social construct (Dias & Posel, 2007; Statistics South Africa, 2015).

The halaal slaughterers receive positive affirmations for their work from the Muslim community, however, there is no mention of the reactions of other people in the broader society, such as vegetarians and vegans, who have a negative view of slaughtering. A conversation about how religious slaughter fits in with the conflict between freedom of religion and prevention of cruelty to animals, which is so prevalent in academic literature (Lerner & Rabello, 2006), seemed to be missing from my interviews. The halaal slaughterers chose to omit this from their interviews and this may be an issue for investigation in future research.

The halaal slaughterers, as well as the secular slaughterers, indicated that they have a good support system in their family and friends, and everyone is happy with their job (see section 4.6.2). Lerner and Rabello (2006) argue that ritual slaughter involves not just the purpose of feeding people in that religious community, but the protection of freedom of religious expression for a particular group, which can be extremely comforting for a religiously-sanctioned slaughterer.

Victor (2012) found, in her Master's thesis, that families who are dependent on the slaughterer's salary (which was the case for the halaal and the secular slaughterers in the current study), may accept the slaughterer's job more easily. This seems to be the case in the current study as financial necessity seemed to trump any other concerns spouses or family members had for the participants' work.

The kosher slaughterers in the current study indicated that although most people in society do not think that slaughtering is a good thing, they realise that it is a necessary job because someone must slaughter animals and provide kosher meat for others. Daniel mentions the reactions from others regarding his work when he states:

> Yes of course people have something to say, and they don't necessarily think it is a good thing to slaughter animals, no one does. I think the whole world understands that slaughtering animals is not a good thing, but the world also understand if you want to eat protein and you want to eat meat, you have to slaughter. So, it is for that purpose that the animals is produced.

Although Daniel recognises that there are negative views from the broader society, he also spoke about how his family does not talk about his work because they understand that his work is essential to their community:

> It is not something we discuss or talk about, my family knows what I do, uhm, we all know what I do. So, it's a job, it's a task, it's a duty.

This is in contrast to the halaal and the secular slaughterers, who did not mention the views of the broader society.

4.4.2 "Sometimes I Get Angry" – Violent Behaviour

While the religiously sanctioned slaughterers speak about the reactions from others regarding their work, the secular slaughterers only speak about their feelings of anger and do not mention the reactions of others. Research suggests that the violent nature of the slaughtering job may contribute to angry and violent behaviour amongst employees, which may also contribute to psychological problems amongst slaughterers (Fitzgerald et al., 2009; Jacques,

2015). The findings of the current study revealed that Kanelo, one of the secular slaughterers, was sometimes angry at work because of the pressure of his job. He states:

> Sometimes I get angry. They put me under pressure and then I cannot work like I want to work and then sometimes I may get angry.

Jongikhaya also mentions being angry at work and thinks that this may be because of the violent nature of his work. He describes his anger as appearing suddenly:

> There is sometimes something like that that wants to develop, some anger, something like that out of the blue… and I think it is due to the fact that I kill the whole day. I do not react on my anger; I just calm down.

The fact that Jongikhaya can control his feelings and calm down, shows his self-control. This self-control and ability to recognise his own emotions when they arise is a useful coping strategy. A sign of concealed anger and violence in the abattoir may be the violent jokes that are made amongst co-workers. Jan describes this:

> There are people who sometimes want to fight with each other, but then we say the game is very dangerous, because we all have knives with us. If someone does something wrong then we point to each other with the knives and say, I'm going to stab you, but we do not. It's just jokes among us and if we go home this afternoon, we're all friends.

Jacob speaks about a potentially violent incident in the abattoir below:

> Me and my colleagues is getting along fine. We never get angry with one another, but there were a guy working here a while ago who took a knife and wanted to stab me, but the guy is not working here anymore.

One of Jacob's colleagues wanted to attack him, but this colleague was quickly dismissed by management. The above quotes show a somewhat tenuous link between feelings of anger and violence and working in a secular abattoir. However, other than passing comments on this issue, none of the secular slaughterers explored this issue in-depth, either signalling that it is only a small concern in the abattoir or that the participants felt uncomfortable disclosing any information to me, a young female researcher, whom they may have believed could put their jobs at risk. From the interviews with the managers, it was also clear that this was not a major concern. Managers indicated that they thought it was possible slaughtering could make the employees more violent and they acknowledged that there are sometimes small incidents at the abattoir, but it is usually amongst the employees who are working in the other areas of the slaughter line and not amongst the slaughterers in the dirty area. One of the managers of the secular abattoirs, Gary, argues that he thinks slaughtering can make a person more violent. He states:

> You know, I'm not a psychologist, but these people stand nine to 10 hours on their feet with a knife in their hand, and I think if someone hurts them, who knows what they might do. One does not know what's happening in someone else's head, and people are different, but I think he's able to hurt someone because of the work he's doing all day long.

Jaco, a manager at one of the religiously sanctioned abattoirs mentions a violent incident at work. However, it was not among the slaughterers in the dirty area and thus not among the halaal slaughterers. He states:

> I had a situation where they fight with each other, but it's mostly due to irritation. They had also showed their knives towards each other, but it quickly evolved. This problem was also not with the animal killers, but with the slaughterers working in the clean area.

None of the slaughterers, their managers or their wives spoke about violent behaviour or outbursts they had personally experienced. Two secular slaughterers indicated that they sometimes experience anger, but they did not react to their anger. One of the managers thought it was possible that their work could lead to violent behaviour, but none of them mentioned violence-related incidents at the abattoir or home. Although aggression and violent behaviour did not seem to occur amongst the participants in the current study, it can be found in many other similar studies. In the studies by Beirne (2004), Dillard (2008), Fitzgerald et al. (2009), Jacques (2015) and Victor and Barnard (2016), work in the abattoir can be linked with aggression and violent behaviour. Beirne's (2004) study indicates that some abattoir workers report that when they slaughter animals in the abattoir, it makes them feel capable of harming or even killing human beings. Barling (1996) found that when an employee is exposed to workplace violence regularly, it may cause feelings of anger, however, the *extent* of these feelings of anger are not explored in the study. Although it is evident in the literature that there is a link between violent working conditions and violent employees, especially within the context of abattoirs, this finding was not present in the current study.

The current study thus stands in contrast to these findings and does not fit in with the current trends surrounding literature on abattoirs in the United States of America and other countries. The local study by Victor and Barnard (2016), however, found that slaughtering animals may lead to violent behaviour amongst slaughterers. The fact that I did not find evidence of violent behaviour amongst the participants in my study may be because South Africa is characterised by high levels of violence already and therefore participants did not think working in an abattoir intensified the already existent epidemic of violence (Kirsten & Bruce, 2010; Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffl, & Ratele, 2009).

4.4.3 Alcohol Abuse

According to Islam, it is prohibited to drink or use drugs, whilst according to the Jewish faith, it is prohibited to abuse alcohol and drugs. None of the slaughterers at religiously-sanctioned abattoirs reported alcohol or drug use. The managers reported that they only had alcohol or drug-related problems with the slaughterers working in areas other than the dirty area. Albert, one of the managers at the Halaal abattoirs states:

> Yes, it happens, but nothing more than at any other work, but it do happen. It however do not occur among the stunners and bleeders, because they are Muslim. The most problems occurs with the other people on the slaughter line.

Although this finding was found in the literature (Dillard, 2008; Victor & Barnard, 2016), it was not present in the current study. Some of the managers of the religiously sanctioned and secular abattoirs said that occasionally employees abuse alcohol but not those who are working on the kill floor. In contrast with the finding of the current study, Dillard (2008) argued in her legal essay about the psychological harm suffered by US abattoir employees, that alcohol and substance abuse amongst slaughterers is a serious problem and is used by these employees as coping strategies to deal with the challenges and high demands of their jobs.

This study thus stands in contrast to the literature, as I did not find any evidence of alcohol and drug use amongst the slaughterers. The halaal and kosher slaughterers are prohibited from abusing alcohol and drugs and did not report any use. The secular slaughterers may be too dependent on their work and their salary, and thus they would not do anything to risk losing their job. During the interviews, I, however, sensed a very calm feeling amongst the secular slaughterers, and none of them seemed violent to me or seemed to be abusing alcohol

or drugs. All the slaughterers I interviewed spoke softly and appeared very calm. In the following section, I will discuss the emotional transition of slaughterers.

4.5 The Emotional Transition of Slaughterers

Research on the psychological and emotional well-being of a slaughterer is limited (Dillard, 2008; Leibler & Perry, 2017), and in South Africa almost non-existing (Victor & Barnard, 2016). According to the slaughterers in the current study, there are only a few negative emotions related to their work, as most of the slaughterers in the current study seem to characterise their overall experience in the abattoir as mostly positive. In this section, I will describe the emotional transition of the slaughterers in the three slaughtering groups. I will also report on the findings of the managers. The sub-themes for this theme are included in Table 7 below.

Table 7

The Emotional Transition of Slaughterers

	Halaal slaughterers	**Kosher slaughterers**	**Secular slaughterers**	**Managers**
The emotional transition of slaughterers.	Negative emotions related to slaughtering. Dreams and nightmares. Emotional desensitisation.	Negative emotions related to slaughtering. Negative emotions do not belong in the abattoir.	Negative emotions related to slaughtering. Dreams and nightmares. Negative emotions do not	Negative emotions related to slaughtering. Emotional desensitisation.

	Negative emotions do not belong in the abattoir. Long-term consequences of slaughtering.	belong in the abattoir. Long-term consequences of slaughtering.	Long-term consequences of slaughtering.

4.5.1 Negative Emotions Related to Slaughtering

Although the majority of the halaal slaughterers did not speak about their psychological and emotional well-being (this negation is an interesting finding in and of itself), some of them did mention negative emotions, such as fear, guilt and sadness, usually experienced during the first few weeks of slaughtering. For example, Abdul mentions the fact that he was a bit scared at first when he began working in the abattoir:

> *Ek was eintlik bietjie bang gewees om met 'n skerp mes te werk* I was actually a little bit scared to work with a sharp knife.

Ajmal also expressed fear:

> *Vir my was dit toe nou iets anders gewees. Ek was bang, want die goed is groot, dit staan hoog bo jou uit en sulke goed. Die naaste wat ek nog aan 'n bees of 'n koei was as hulle daar in die veld wei en jy ry verby hulle, en dit was nou toe die eerste keer wat ek so naby aan 'n bees was.* I was scared. You work with big animals and they stand up high above you, and the closest that I have come to a cattle or a cow before, was

when I saw them from out my car window alongside the road, so this was the first time I came so close to a cattle.

Ashraf did not mention any negative emotions, but he indicated that slaughtering was not always a very easy job:

Ek was nie gewoond aan doodmaak nie, mense of enige iets. Dit kos 'n mens met hare op die tande om te slag. I was not used to killing animals, humans or anything, you need to have hair on your teeth to slaughter animals.

Ali, however, enjoyed his first slaughter and then experienced guilt:

It was awesome, but then you sit and think, how could you?

Ali only experienced negative emotions when he slaughtered infant animals. He states:

I don't like to slaughter the small ones. They are just too small and it is heart-breaking. If the small ones comes in, no ways, I do have a heart.

Sadness was another common reaction amongst the halaal slaughterers. Isma'il expressed sadness after his first kill, which he later justifies:

The first time you feel something, like sadness, but you know you do it for the right reason…

Zuhair also expressed sadness after his first kill:

Jy *voel hartseer, want dit is 'n lewendige ding wat jy nou doodmaak, jy is nie gewoond om daai ding dood te maak nie. Kyk, ek is nie 'n aggressiewe persoon nie, so om sommer net 'n ding te vat en dit dood te maak, dit is moeilik. Ek weet nie hoe ander*

> *mense voel nie, maar ek voel hartseer*. You feel sad because it's a living thing you kill now, you're not used to killing that thing. See, I'm not an aggressive person, so just to take a thing and kill it, it's hard. I don't know how other people feel, but I feel sad.

Layla also mentions that Ajmal was sad when he had to slaughter for the first time, but then he got used to it:

> He did have, with the small cows, and bulls, he did find that a bit difficult, and he basically just comes to talk to me. And then I try to comfort him, because he did tell me it was extremely sad for him to do that to such a small thing, because obviously we've got kids and for him it was like, this is someone's child, but then he got used to it.

The above quotes show that slaughtering may influence the emotional well-being of the halaal slaughterers. The halaal slaughterers indicated that they experienced emotions of fear, guilt and sadness during the first kill and the first few weeks of slaughtering. Another important issue that emerged during data-collection is the killing of infant animals. Although they do not kill young animals at all the abattoirs, most of the halaal slaughterers indicated that the slaughtering of infant animals is the worst for them, with one quote referring to infant animals as "someone's child", showing a close identification with these infant animals.

When halaal slaughterers want to do ritual slaughter at home, they must raise the animals first before they can slaughter it. If they cannot afford to raise the animal from infancy, they must keep the animal at their home and feed him for a couple of days before they can slaughter them. On the day of sacrifice, the person who has cared for the animal must commit the ritual slaughter. This teaching is from the story in the Qur´an, where Abraham must sacrifice his son Ishmael, but instead, the creator sent a goat for the slaughter. Ali references

this religious teaching when discussing the rules regarding ritual slaughter and uses it to justify the complicated emotions he experiences when performing ritual slaughter at home. He states:

> The creator become so merciful; he sent an animal to sacrifice instead of a human being.
>
> The emotion that I feel is merely that this could have been my son. The second part is, I have come to love this particular animal, and it becomes emotional, because it is your own.

However, similarly to the other halaal slaughterers that experience negative emotions during their work in the abattoir, Ali uses his religious beliefs to mitigate any negative emotion he may have when performing ritual slaughter and uses this religious story of Abraham and Ishmael to justify his close identification with the animals he must slaughter.

The halaal slaughterers are quick to dismiss any negative reactions or questions regarding the emotional influence of their work in the abattoir. Some of them just answer "no emotional challenges" when I asked them about it. This lack of engagement in the potential emotional impact of working in an abattoir is interesting and may denote a deeper underlying issue amongst the slaughterers regarding their work, that could also be investigated in future research.

Similarly, to the halaal slaughterers, the kosher slaughterers also reported certain emotions, like sadness, during their first kill, but they indicated that you got used to it. Both kosher slaughterers acknowledged the emotional influence of slaughtering but stated that they combated this by maintaining the right mind-set and having compassion for the animals. The negative emotions that the kosher slaughterers referred to the most was sadness; however, this usually only occurred during their first kill. Daniel explains how he was upset the first time he slaughtered an animal in his statement:

I was very upset, and I was sad for the animal, I saw the animal die, and I actually cried.

Tzion also describes how he felt sorrow when he first began slaughtering animals. He states:

> The only thing I always remember was slaughtering a calf with only one eye, and when I slaughter this calf, my heart just sank. The calf was looking at me with only one eye and I think, oh, here I'm killing the animal, but that was the only time I actually felt sorry for an animal.

The kosher slaughterers thus seem to experience negative emotions for a shorter time than the halaal slaughterers. Similarly, to the religiously sanctioned slaughterers, the secular slaughterers also spoke about the negative emotions associated with slaughtering, which included feelings of discomfort, sadness and fear. These emotions typically only lasted for a few weeks, after which the slaughterers began to report a positive experience of their work. Jan speaks about his initial feelings of discomfort when he began slaughtering in the abattoir. Jan states, "It feels uncomfortable, because it's almost like a person you kill there, the blood just splashes from the throat", highlighting how he compares an animal to a human, showing he humanizes his work. This is similar to some of the halaal slaughterers. Kanelo, another secular slaughterer, describes his disorientating experience of slaughtering animals for the first time. He states:

> When you kill the beef, you feel bad and you feel upset, but the pig, you hit him on the head, you hit him until there is source (blood) and then there is a hard noise when you hit the pig, and then you don't feel good in your head, and there is noises in your head. You don't feel well, you feel upset, but you have to do it, you don't have a choice. You don't feel well, you feel upset, but what can you do?

In the excerpt above Kanelo discusses in detail the slaughtering and his conflicted feelings. It is also clear that Kanelo does not enjoy his work slaughtering animals:

> I mean, a job where you have to kill things is not very nice, because you work with blood every day and you kill animals every day.

Johannes, as with the halaal slaughterers, speaks about how he does not like to slaughter infant animals. He states:

> I don't like to slaughter the infant animals. I feel very sad when I have to kill the small animals, but it is part of our job, so what can you do?

The above quotes indicate that the secular slaughterers tend to explore their conflicted emotions regarding work more than any of the religious slaughterers. One possible explanation may be that the secular slaughterers do not slaughter for religious purposes and therefore do not have a religious community and a religious set of beliefs justifying their work in the abattoir. As a result, they do not have coping strategies to justify any negative emotions they experience, like the religiously sanctioned slaughterers do, and are therefore more conflicted about their work. The managers also support this finding and highlight that fear and sadness are the main negative emotions slaughterers' experience. Francois, who has been working at a secular abattoir for 26 years argues that the slaughterers are sad sometimes, especially when they must slaughter sick or infant animals:

> The slaughterers become emotional when sick animals and calves come in. They do not like to slaughter these animals; nobody really likes it. No one eats veal, because they feel it's a bad thing, because they are so small. It is the biggest obstacle for them at the moment, but they do it, because it's their job. This however makes them very sad.

Jana, who has been working for 11 years at a religiously sanctioned abattoir, also argues that the slaughterers are sad when they must slaughter a sick or infant animal. She states:

> Animals that come in that are injured, they see the animal is already hurt and I can see it hurts the slaughterers. Or if calves come in, you can see people pulling a little back when a calf is coming in. It's that fatherly instinct and motherly instinct that makes the people say wow, it's bad for us. We once got calves who were three weeks old, and there were really big men who were crying… Big men held back with the slaughter and said Madam we cannot, and I said we do not have a choice.

From the interviews with the slaughterers as well as with their managers, it is clear that the work in the dirty area may influence the emotional well-being of slaughterers. Sadness is the most prominent emotion and slaughtering infant and sick animals are a source of great emotional conflict for many slaughterers.

According to the American Psychiatric Association (DSM-V, 2013), feelings of sadness, guilt, fear, and sleep disturbance are all symptoms of PTSD. Although these are all symptoms I found in my study amongst the slaughterers, these symptoms need to be present for more than a month to fit a diagnosis of PTSD. The person experiencing the traumatic event must have one or more symptoms in each symptom cluster to make a diagnosis of PTSD. According to Dillard (2008), abattoir employees may also suffer from a similar disorder to PTSD, namely PITS. We cannot, however, say that the participants in the current study suffer from PTSD or PITS, because they did not show enough of the symptoms in each symptom cluster to make a diagnosis, and the symptoms they did mention were reported to have disappeared after a few weeks (see section 2.9.2, for more detail on PTSD and PITS). If one, however, looks at the diagnostic criteria for acute adjustment disorder with mixed disturbance

of emotions and conduct provided by the DSM-V, the halaal and the secular slaughterers may suffer from this disorder, rather than from PTSD or PITS. According to the DSM-V, adjustment disorder can be diagnosed when emotional or behavioural symptoms are present for three months since the onset of a stressor (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). According to the criteria of adjustment disorder, the negative emotions will abate if the stressor is removed (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). In the case of the current study, the stressor (slaughtering of animals) was not removed, the slaughterers just "got used to" their work and the negative emotions dissipated. All the slaughterers in the current study may thus experience emotional desensitisation. More details on this emotional desensitisation phase will be discussed in section 4.5.3.

4.5.2 Dreams and Nightmares

While some of the halaal slaughterers mention negative emotions related to the first week of slaughtering, other participants experienced bad dreams and nightmares during their first few weeks of slaughtering. Hashid states:

> Only the first time when you slaughter you have nightmares, but after a week or two weeks you get used to it. Now it is just a normal job for me. You see the sheep, when you slaughter the sheep it is kicking, so you see the kicking sheep in your dreams the first time, because you are not use to slaughter. After a week or two you feel normal.

Kareem also speaks about having bad dreams:

> I dream that many animals are coming to me and attacking me, but that was a long time ago and I don't get the dreams anymore.

Although it is not unusual to dream of work experiences, these two participants indicated that they had nightmares and bad dreams, but after they got used to their work, these dreams disappeared. In contrast, Ali, however, stated that it is the people who do not have a passion for slaughtering who experience sleeplessness and nightmares:

> Some people slaughter their first sheep and then they can't sleep. They say that it is not for them. There are some people who decline to slaughter at all, because they don't have a heart for it. I have a heart and a passion for slaughtering, because I am in a spiritual field when I'm slaughtering.

Ali goes on to emphatically emphasise that he does not have any nightmares and sleeps well. The halaal slaughterers gave the impression that the negative emotions and experiences associated with slaughtering occur only during the first few weeks of work at the abattoir, after which they disappear. The halaal slaughterers who indicated that they never had bad dreams argue that this is because they are emotionally strong and are passionate about religious slaughtering. The secular slaughterers reported bad dreams and nightmares. Jongikhaya spoke about having nightmares during the first few weeks of slaughtering. He states:

> The first time I had bad dreams when I was sleeping, dreams like many cattle that comes towards me and chasing me, something like that, but after a while you get used to it.

Similar dreams were also experienced by one of the halaal slaughterers. Jongikhaya seems to think that these nightmares stemmed from his work in the abattoir and after a while, the nightmares began to dissipate. He states, "I think it is because I got used to the work".

In contrast, two secular slaughterers, Jan and Jack spoke about dreams they had concerning their work, but they also implicitly emphasised that these dreams were not nightmares. Jan states:

When I started with the pigs, I had so many dreams. I only dream of the pigs I kill and the sheep I hang, but it's not nightmares.

Further, Jack states:

I sometimes dream about my work, but it is not bad dreams or nightmares.

However, the other secular slaughterers stated that they did not have any dreams, bad or good, about the abattoir. There was only one secular slaughterer, who indicated that he experienced nightmares. In contrast, the kosher slaughterers did not mention anything about bad dreams or nightmares.

The presence of work-related nightmares and sleep disturbances amongst abattoir employees was also present in studies by Butler (2003), Hillier et al. (2005) and Victor and Barnard (2016). Although Lowis (2010) argues that it is not unusual to dream of work experiences, the type of dreams reported by the halaal and secular slaughterers in the current study, however, reflected negative themes, such as fear, and may be seen as signs of psychological trauma. However, the slaughterers in the current study indicated that those initial emotional responses only occurred for the first few weeks working in the abattoir, after which they dissipated. The slaughterers in Victor and Barnard's (2016) study similarly indicated that the negative emotions of fear, sadness and distress were only present for the first few weeks working in an abattoir, after which they disappeared. Only two halaal slaughterers and one secular slaughterer in the current study spoke about how they would not be able to work as slaughterers long-term because they think their work would ultimately have a detrimental psychological influence on them. The next section discusses the experience of emotional desensitisation.

4.5.3 Emotional Desensitisation

While few negative emotions, bad dreams and nightmares were found amongst the halaal slaughterers during their first few weeks of slaughtering, the most prevalent psychological symptom found amongst the participants was emotional desensitisation. When someone is repeatedly exposed to violence or repeatedly involved in performing violent work, they become numb to this experience. They show no emotions when they are exposed to violence and experience a total loss of emotion (Rankin et al., 2009). Dillard (2008) refers to this total loss of emotion as "emotional blunting" and Rohlf and Bennett (2005) call it "emotional numbing".

The majority of the halaal slaughterers stated that they experienced negative emotions, such as fear, guilt and sadness, and some participants experienced nightmares during their first few weeks of slaughtering, whereafter they described becoming used to their work and after a few months of working in the abattoir they were in a state of complete loss of emotion. This process of emotional desensitisation is highlighted by the halaal slaughterers working in the abattoir below:

> …at first you don't feel good, because you are someone that are killing something and then you see the animals in your dreams, it was like that at first, but after a week I got used to it and I don't get the nightmares anymore. I am used to it now. Now it is just a normal job for me.
>
> (Hashid, 33, English/Chichewa-speaking slaughterer at a halaal abattoir)

> It was sometimes a struggle to slaughter the big animals. But now I am used to this work. Sometimes you feel bad, only the first time you feel bad, because you haven't done this work before, but after two or three times your heart is okay, because you know the work now and it is just your job.

(Emran, 33, halaal slaughterer)

I am now use to my work and it is just a normal everyday work for me now. I've done this job for so long now and I am so used to it, it won't traumatise me now.

(Ashraf, 51, Afrikaans-speaking halaal slaughterer who worked in the abattoir for 36 years)

These quotes highlight how halaal slaughterers in an abattoir become desensitised after a few weeks to a few months at work. This emotional desensitisation can also be seen in the various statements by participants, earlier in the chapter, who deny they are impacted emotionally or psychologically in any way by their work in the abattoir. The experience of emotional desensitisation can also be linked to the hyper-masculine identity that these men took on to survive working in an abattoir. This involves acting tough and immune to the experiences of violence in the abattoir. Emotional desensitisation can also be a coping strategy in which slaughterers silence their emotions and shut themselves off from any conflicting feelings that may interfere with their work. This interpretation of the male slaughterers in the study taking on hyper-masculine identities and silencing conflicting emotions regarding their work as a way to cope is aligned with the research data in which all the slaughterers remained silent on the discussion of the psychological influence of their work, or echoed statements such as, "I am fine" and "it has no effect on me". Both the religious and secular slaughterers did not appear to want to engage in any discussion surrounding the psychological influence of their work. Mathewson (2009) situates the silencing of one's emotions as one of the tenets of hegemonic masculinity and Jansz (2000, p. 168) argues that hegemonic masculinity dictates that "a man does not share his pain, does not grieve openly and avoids strong, dependent and

warm feelings". This hyper-masculine identity fits in with the wider patriarchal discourse prevalent in South Africa.

The halaal slaughterers stated that although they experienced a loss of emotion when they slaughtered animals, they never mistreated or disrespected the animals in the abattoir. This is highlighted in the two excerpts below:

> …when it comes to my work, I feel nothing. If it comes to here, it is a job I do. I have to slaughter every day. Yes, I handle it with care, because it is an animal. It is a creation of the creator, so you handle it with care.
>
> (Ali, 48, English-speaking halaal slaughterer)

> I'm not emotionless when it comes to slaughtering, because you have to respect the animals because it's a living thing.
>
> (Zuhair, 45 Afrikaans-speaking halaal slaughterer)

Although both kosher slaughterers indicated that they once felt sad when they first began slaughtering animals, they also spoke about how they got used to their work. Daniel states, "I truly don't have a personal involvement emotionally with the animal", which illustrates how he has become accustomed to his work and is not emotionally connected to it. Tzion speaks about how slaughtering animals does not get better but over time you get used to it:

> It is a painless way in which we slaughter the animals, you can't make a mistake, they don't pass you until you are, not good, you have to be excellent. A kosher slaughterer is hard work. It doesn't get better, maybe you get more proficient, there comes a time that you can't get more proficient, but you get used to it.

Tzion seems to be more aware of the emotional ramifications of his work in the abattoir than Daniel is. There are thus signs that the kosher slaughterers are also experiencing emotional desensitisation, as are the halaal slaughterers, because Tzion and Daniel emphasise a lack of emotional connection to their work. They speak about "getting used to slaughtering" as if it is any other job and then outline the importance of their work in terms of their religious faith.

The kosher slaughterers also speak about how slaughtering can develop either your compassion or your cruelty. Daniel illustrates this below:

> It is supposed to develop your compassion, not develop your cruelty. I develop my compassion, I appreciate life, because I see how quick death can be. I drive a long way to slaughter chickens on a Tuesday, now often I see Guinea fowl on the highway, and I apply breaks, I avoid killing a Guinea fowl on the road, but I am on the way to slaughter 2000 chickens.

Tzion also similarly speaks about the importance of not losing your compassion for animals when you work as a slaughterer. He states:

> You have to have compassion for the animal, and you should try not to lose your compassion for the animal.

Both kosher slaughterers speak about the importance of expressing compassion for animals when you slaughter them and construct this as one of the principles of Jewish slaughtering for kosher meat. The kosher slaughterers only speak about experiencing negative emotions during their first kill, after which they became used to their work and experienced some level of emotional desensitisation. In contrast to the halaal slaughterers, who did not indicate how they became used to their work, the kosher slaughterers indicated that they have compassion for the animals. The kosher slaughterers appeared to believe that you will only

have negative reactions to slaughtering animals if you do not have compassion for the animals and a passion for the work. This is an outlook not shared by the other slaughterers. Similar to the religiously sanctioned slaughterers, the secular slaughterers also experienced negative emotions during the first few weeks of slaughtering, after which these negative feelings dissipated, and they experienced a gradual loss of emotion. However, this loss of emotion also seems to be accompanied by an enjoyment of their work.

The managers support these findings. Garry, a manager at a secular abattoir, argues that there is a risk that slaughterers may treat animals with disrespect. However, to safeguard against this, managers ensure that they maintain good relations with their slaughterers and animal welfare officers monitor the abattoirs. Gary expresses this below:

> I think many of them still have feelings, but there are some who sometimes loses their feeling. Sometimes they will hit an animal a few times, because he will anyway be killed. However, the quality of the meat is determined by the way the animals are treated before killing, by the shocking process and by the throat cutting process, so we have certain measures in place. If we see something is not right then we will talk to the men. We also have an animal welfare officer, and there is good communication between all of us.

One manager at a halaal abattoir, Albert, also speaks about the danger of slaughterers having too little compassion and the loss of emotion they see in slaughterers:

> For them it's just a job. There is no emotion involved. There is little emotion and little compassion from them when it comes to their work.

However, Albert maintains that this loss of emotion amongst the slaughterers does not affect their work. He states:

They will not treat an animal hard-handily, they realize there are bruises and risks involved and there are certain standards according to which they must treat the animals.

The managers of the different abattoirs also acknowledge that slaughterers enter a state of emotional desensitisation after a few weeks of working in the abattoir. However, employees are monitored by managers and the animals are monitored by an animal welfare officer. It is thus clear that the slaughterers and their managers both agreed that slaughtering may influence the emotional well-being of a slaughterer. Despite this finding, the managers do not have any solutions to help these slaughterers with the emotional ramifications of their work. They speak more about helping slaughterers with their physical health than treating their psychological and emotional well-being. However, employers must be attentive to the psychological health of their employees, especially in the case of abattoir workers and the slaughtering of animals.

Another concern is how the slaughterers' emotional desensitisation may affect the animals they slaughter and interact with. Henry (2004) found that cruelty to animals is related to the development of insensitivity and violent behaviour towards others. If slaughterers are insensitive towards the animals they work with it may affect their work and overall health and may result in animal cruelty and abuse. One of the kosher slaughterers in the current study stated that slaughtering will either make you cruel or compassionate, which highlights the importance of practising constant compassion in the abattoir. However, no other discussion surrounding the loss of compassion and respect for animals was found in the current study and no reports of animal cruelty were made.

This emotional desensitisation phase can also be linked to compassion fatigue. According to Figley (1995, p. 253), compassion fatigue is, "a state of exhaustion and dysfunction biologically, psychologically, and socially as a result of prolonged exposure to compassion stress and all it invokes". Compassion fatigue thus refers to stress that may result

when an individual is exposed to a traumatised person and has to care for that person. Compassion fatigue is most common among nurses (Drury, Craigie, Francis, Aoun, & Hegney, 2014), as well as healthcare, emergency and community service workers (Cocker & Joss, 2016). It can, however, be argued that slaughterers may also suffer from compassion fatigue, since they are working with traumatised animals daily. They have to handle the animals with care and compassion, but then they have to kill them and watch them suffer. If a person does this daily they may suffer from compassion fatigue. They initially have compassion for the animals and experience some emotions, but after a while, these emotions dissipate and they might lose their compassion. The characteristics of compassion fatigue include exhaustion; anger; irritability; alcohol and drug abuse; reduced ability to feel sympathy and empathy; a reduced sense of enjoyment or satisfaction with work; increased absenteeism and an impaired ability to make decisions and care for patients and/or clients (Mathieu, 2007). Other disorders that may also develop from compassion fatigue include depression and anxiety (Drury et al., 2014); and PTSD (Figley, 2002). It is thus important that abattoir managers pay close attention to the slaughterers and watch for any signs of compassion fatigue, since the presence of compassion fatigue may lead to serious psychological disorders. If the slaughterers do not have compassion for the animals, it may also lead to them treated the animals hard-handedly.

4.5.4 Negative Emotions Do Not Belong in the Abattoir

Findings show that the halaal slaughterers normally experience negative emotions, including nightmares during their first few weeks of working in an abattoir. After a few weeks, these symptoms disappear and they experience emotional desensitisation and report feeling numb at work. During this phase, the halaal slaughterers express that they enjoy their work and highlight the importance of maintaining a positive outlook at work. They repeatedly express

that negative emotions do not belong in the abattoir. Ali highlights this below and speaks about how slaughtering is his passion:

> If you feel emotional when you are slaughtering animals and when you see blood every day, then I will tell you this place is not for you, take a job somewhere else, because emotions do not come here.

He also indicates that he is happy with his job and emphasises several times throughout the interview that because of his religion he considers his job as a slaughterer a passion. He states:

> When I am slaughtering animals, yes I enjoy that, it is part of the job. We as Muslims grow up with that passion for slaughtering animals, whether it is for ritual, whether it is to put food on the table, and if you have a passion and a heart for slaughtering, you just go on to the next one. For me it has become a passion.

Abdul expresses similar emotions to Ali and enjoys his job. He states:

> At this moment I like the work that I am doing, because if you don't like something, you won't enjoy it. I feel emotionally strong to do this job.

The halaal slaughterers experience positive emotions concerning their work such as enjoyment, pride and contentment. This is illustrated in the two excerpts below:

> No, I enjoy it, otherwise I wouldn't have been here. I enjoy my work, I fully enjoy myself, if you don't enjoy yourself in your work, what does it help?
>
> (Ashraf)

> Yes, I'm feeling good about my work, I enjoy it, there is nothing difficult in my job.
>
> (Kareem)

These feelings of enjoyment, pride and contentment are linked to a religious purpose and the role these participants believe they are performing in their community by practising ritual slaughtering in the abattoir. They also believe that they fulfil their purposes as breadwinners and providers to their families and communities. This is illustrated in the quotes below:

> When I'm slaughtering, I'm feeling good because I make a difference. Uhm, this work I am feeling good, because when I slaughter I think of the God, because with every sheep you slaughter you first say: *Bismillah Allahu Akbar*. In the Name of Allah, Allah is the Greatest.
>
> (Emran, 33, English/Chichewa-speaking halaal slaughterer)

> I don't have problem for the job, I enjoy the job, I make the Halaal for the Muslim people when I slaughter. I don't have problems with the job.
>
> (Isma'il, 49, English/Somali-speaking halaal slaughterer)

Ibrahim is also content with his work because it fulfils his role as both a religious man and a breadwinner. He is also happy because he describes his relationships with the other slaughterers as being characterised by respect and good communication. He states:

> I feel happy, I am happy, I always enjoy my job. I am happy. There is good communication between me and the other slaughterers. We respect each other and also respect each other's religion.

The positive emotion arising from humour also influences a slaughterer's emotional well-being. Ashraf refers to the humour that others often use when speaking about his work in the abattoir:

> People sometimes joke with me and call me a murderer (laughing), but they are still happy that I have a job.

This statement suggests that both Ashraf and others use humour to gloss over the violent nature of their work and the subsequent emotional effect this work may have on them. In this instance, humour is a defence mechanism or avoidance coping strategy that both the halaal and secular slaughterers use to avoid fully engaging in the gritty details of their work in the abattoir. This display of humour is also reflected in the studies by Abel (2002), Kuiper, Martin and Olinger (1993) and Lefcourt (2001), who argue that people sometimes use humour to conceal their discomfort. Ashraf's friends and family make jokes about him being a murderer, which seems considerably harsh, however, humour is used to conceal the harshness of this accusation and their discomfort. There are social and cognitive aspects of a sense of humour that could facilitate in reframing an adverse event and distress, as well as increase social connectedness (Crawford & Caltabiano, 2011). The use of humour is related to lower depression (Overholser, 1992), stress (Miczo, 2004) and anxiety (Szabo, 2003). The use of humour is also related to more positivity (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005). According to Crawford and Caltabiano (2011), a sense of humour can increase positive affect and lower negative affect and thus have a positive influence on an individual's emotional well-being.

The positive emotions that the halaal slaughterers express after the first few weeks of working at the abattoir seem to be because many see their work as fulfilling a religious purpose and express a passion for slaughtering. The halaal slaughterers also speak about being the breadwinners of their families and therefore they take pride in their work. The halaal

slaughterers do not discuss in detail their emotions regarding their work. However, there is significant value in their silence because, after the initial descriptions of their negative emotions associated with their first few weeks of work, they suddenly seem "okay" and begun discussing their work in positive terms. This shift is interesting and is not explained in its entirety by the participants. Similarly to the halaal slaughterers, the secular slaughterers initially experienced negative emotions coupled with bad dreams and nightmares, after which they became emotionally desensitised and then maintained a positive outlook on their job, often even referring to happiness and enjoyment. For example, Kevin speaks about being happy that he has a job and possibly changing his job in the future:

> Right now, I am happy, and I don't mind my work. Maybe in the future I will change my job if I get another job, but right now I am happy in my job.

Although Kanelo does not enjoy slaughtering, he, however, speaks about enjoying his work because he has good relationships with his colleagues below:

> I mean I'm happy. I'm happy at work, because there is no one with whom I have a bad relationship and we don't get angry with one another. We all work well together.

Jongikhaya also states that he is happy with his work, despite having bad dreams:

> Ja, I love my job, but there are some feelings here and there, like when I am sleeping, like the bad dreams I sometimes get, but in general in my work I am happy.

All the secular slaughterers reported that they experienced a positive outlook on their work and spoke about being happy at work despite the obvious negative implications. This was a common trend amongst the secular slaughterers and the halaal slaughterers, who reported being happy at work despite the disadvantages it presented. The kosher slaughterers reported

being very happy at work and did not report any negative (physical, social or psychological) aspects of their job. The only exceptions were the sadness they experienced during their first kill and their talk surrounding how slaughtering is not a "pleasant experience". One possible explanation for the secular and halaal slaughterers reporting an overall positive experience at work is that they may not want to risk their job by disclosing their dissatisfaction to the interviewer. The role of masculine identities is another factor. Many of the men avoid talking in-depth about their emotions and tended to avoid moments of vulnerability in the interviews. It can also be argued that the slaughterers repressed their emotions to defend against powerlessness and maintain control in their own lives. This was demonstrated when the participants, after discussing their initial negative experiences working at the abattoir and the impact it had on them, emphatically stated that they were "okay". The silence surrounding how they adjusted to their job was deafening in some cases and despite prompting, participants did not seem to want to discuss their adjustment and how they transitioned into being "okay" and happy at work.

According to Van Dyne, Ang, and Botero (2003), silencing is the intentional withholding of information. While this withholding of information may lead to positive outcomes such as independence, increased creativity and confidence amongst employees (Bruneau, 1973), it may also lead to negative outcomes, because if an employee does not feel comfortable talking, it may lead to isolation, a sense of helplessness, and absence from work (Morrison & Milliken, 2000), as well as symptoms of stress (Brewin, Dalgleish, & Joseph, 1996; Gross & Levenson, 1997; Perlow & Williams, 2003). It is thus important that employers pay attention to silent employees, as their silence might be masking serious psychological problems. Van Dyne et al. (2003) identified three types of silence that may occur in the workplace. These types of silence include acquiescent silence (in this case, employees keep silent because they feel that their opinions are not valued by their supervisors); defensive

silence (this type of silence occurs when employees are afraid of the negative consequences of speaking up); and prosocial silence (this type of silence is when employees feel that they are doing other people a favour by withholding information) (Van Dyne et al., 2003). In the case of the abattoir employees, one of the motives for their silence might be defensive silence, in which these men tried to protect themselves by not speaking about their dissatisfaction at work because of possible negative consequences. There are studies in the literature that also show that employees do not want to speak about problems at work, out of fear of negative consequences (Dutton, Ashford, O'Neill, Hayes, & Wierba, 1997; Redding, 1985; Sprague & Rudd, 1988).

Another reason for the abattoir employee's silence could be one of the consequences of apartheid in South Africa. According to Morrell (2003), apartheid produced a silent population as silence was used as a defence mechanism to protect oneself from imprisonment (Morrell, 2003). The majority of the slaughterers in the current study (except the immigrants) grew up during the apartheid years (see Table 3, p. 86), thus it is possible that they are using silence to protect themselves both emotionally and from negative consequences at work brought about by speaking out.

Another interpretation for the slaughterers' silence regarding their psychological and mental health may be the considerable stigma surrounding mental health conditions in South Africa, which has been well documented in the literature (Burns, 2011; Kakuma et al., 2010; Petersen & Lund, 2011; Sorsdahl & Stein, 2010). This silence points to the wider problem of stigma surrounding mental health, which prevents many people from seeking help.

It can also be argued that keeping silent about their emotions helped these men to maintain strong, positive and cohesive identities. Maintaining a strong, positive and cohesive identity can also be a coping strategy for these men. Maintaining a positive outlook at work was a common finding for the majority of the slaughterers in the current study. Although the

halaal and the secular slaughterers constantly mentioned the various work challenges they faced in the abattoir (the kosher slaughterers did not report any work challenges or concerns), they still maintained a positive outlook at work and made conscious efforts to express this during the interviews. However, as the researcher, it is important to be critical and ask: do they genuinely have a positive outlook on their work, or is it just important to maintain a positive outlook towards their work to cope better? According to Lyubomirsky et al. (2005), maintaining a positive outlook despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary is a coping strategy to avoid feelings of powerlessness. This may be the case with the current study as the participants themselves present overwhelming evidence detailing their challenges at work and the struggles they experience, which contradict their statements regarding their overall positive experience of their work. Boehm and Lyubomirsky (2008) argue that being positive and happy at work leads to better workplace outcomes. Alternatively, it is optimal that these slaughterers maintain a positive outlook on their work, despite the negative challenges, because Fredrickson (2001) indicated that positive emotions can increase growth and social connection that can transform people's life experiences, including those of work.

Maintaining a positive mindset at work can also be linked to trying to gain psychological capital. According to Luthans et al. (2007, p. 3), psychological capital is defined as:

> An individual's positive psychological state of development that is characterized by: (1) having confidence {self-efficacy} to take on and put in the necessary effort to succeed at challenging tasks; (2) making a positive attribution {optimism} about succeeding now and in the future; (3) persevering toward goals and, when necessary, redirecting paths to goals {hope} to succeed; and (4) when beset by problems and adversity, sustaining and bouncing back and even beyond {resiliency} to attain success.

In this context, the slaughterers in the current study are avoiding powerlessness by trying to gain psychological capital in the face of adversity at work. This may help them cope better with their work challenges and other daily struggles, which they speak about throughout the interviews.

4.5.5 Long-Term Consequences of Slaughtering

The majority of the halaal slaughterers indicated that they felt positive during the emotional desensitisation phase because they found their work purposeful. However, two halaal slaughterers indicated that although they were happy at their job at the moment, they did not want to stay there long-term. Hashid indicated that he thinks the work will affect him emotionally or psychologically in the long term. He states:

> Uhm, if you are going to continue for most years, I think something will happen in my head, because when you see the blood every day, it have an effect on your brain. I don't think I will be the same person, because when you work with blood and death every day, you won't be the same person.

Ibrahim mentions that he does not know if he can do this job forever, but now he does not have a problem with his work and enjoys slaughtering. He states:

> I don't know, Allah he knows. I don't know, the time will tell, Allah he knows that, but for now it is good here, I am happy to do this job.

It is therefore clear that some halaal slaughterers believed that slaughtering can affect them emotionally or psychologically in the long-term. There was also one secular slaughterer, Jan, who indicated that he would not be able to be a slaughterer in the long term. Jan speaks

about how he does not want to be exposed to slaughtering for the rest of his life, acknowledging the long-term psychological influence of working in an abattoir. He states:

> I don't want to do this work (slaughtering) forever. I actually want them to move me to another section. Other people should also get a chance to do this work. I think if you do this work forever it will stay in your head.

Leon, a manager who has been working for 20 years at a halaal and secular abattoir, also acknowledges that slaughtering may have long-term effects and therefore it is important to pick the right person for the job:

> Yes, I think to kill 500, 600 animals every day, one has to think about it, because at the end of the day it can affect people emotionally, but you must also be the right person to do this work. I don't believe this work, to kill animals the whole day, is for everyone.

The question may arise: why do some participants indicate that they cannot do this work forever, whilst others do not think working as a slaughterer will affect them in the long-term? There might be several answers to this question. Some men may want to conceal their emotions due to their ideas of traditional masculinity and as a result, struggle to talk about their emotions concerning their work. It could also be that the slaughterers did not feel comfortable discussing these emotions with me, a young female researcher. There is a possibility that these slaughterers are using better coping strategies than others and therefore feel they can mitigate the negative factors associated with their work. Some of the participants may be more suited for dangerous and emotionally heavy work than others and may have a higher threshold for dealing with this type of stress than other participants. The individual personality of a slaughterer is another important factor to consider. One of the Muslim women indicated that her husband is a soft-hearted person, and therefore it may be difficult for him to slaughter

animals forever, because of the nature of his personality. The slaughterers I interviewed seemed softly spoken and not aggressive. I could feel a sense of calmness and a peacefulness amongst the halaal slaughterers. It should also be noted that the two halaal slaughterers, who expressed their emotions so easily in the interviews, have higher levels of education and are older than the other slaughterers, which may help us understand why they were able to articulate their feelings so easily.

However, it is also clear that slaughtering is not a suitable job for everyone. It can be argued that someone who does this work for religious purposes has a positive mind-set and social support at home, work and in their religious community, and therefore might be better equipped to be a slaughterer. In the following section, I will discuss the coping strategies identified by the slaughterers in the current study.

4.6 Coping Strategies

Although slaughtering may influence the well-being of slaughterers, physically, socially and emotionally, it seems that many of the participants are coping well. However, the lack of discussion surrounding the psychological challenges of their work may indicate that some participants do not feel comfortable openly discussing their emotional difficulties. This may also be linked to the masculine identity these men assume as slaughterers in an abattoir to survive, a place where according to one halaal slaughterer, Ali, emotions are not allowed. This is reminiscent of hegemonic masculinity, which is characterised by the silencing of male emotions (Mathewson, 2009). An argument can be made that it is only by silencing their own emotions that slaughterers working in an abattoir can survive psychologically, therefore any interviews with male slaughterers would not allow much discussion surrounding their emotional worlds. The masculine identity that these men assume may also be seen as a coping strategy, which helps them to deal with the emotional challenges of slaughtering. This silencing

of male emotions in the abattoir could also be a form of emotional desensitisation. The majority of the slaughterers in the current study indicated that, after desensitisation, they were positive and happy, and they enjoyed their work and were coping well with their work challenges. This positive mindset can also be seen as a coping strategy. The other coping strategies identified for the three slaughtering groups are reported in Table 8 below. I will also report on management strategies that managers identified as essential in helping slaughterers cope better. I will discuss the findings with similar literature and frame these in Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping.

Table 8

Coping Strategies

	Halaal slaughterers	**Kosher slaughterers**	**Secular slaughterers**	**Managers**
Coping strategies.	Spirituality as a coping resource. Social support from family members. Hobbies as coping strategies. "We are more than a family here."	Spirituality as a coping resource. Supportive work environment.	Spirituality as a coping resource. Social support from family members. Hobbies as coping strategies.	Working together as a team and good communication. Job rotation as a management strategy.

"I keep work at work and home at home."

4.6.1 Spirituality as a Coping Resource

The halaal slaughterers seem to be well adapted and have effective strategies to cope with their daily challenges at work. In general, the religiously sanctioned slaughterers cope better at work and seem to navigate their work challenges more easily than the secular slaughterers. According to the religiously-sanctioned slaughterers, this is because of their religious faith and compassion towards animals. All the halaal slaughterers indicate that their religion plays an important role in their daily lives and helps them to cope. One of the most important spiritual resources that helps them cope is prayer. Part of their ritual is to pray for each animal before it is slaughtered, otherwise, the meat is not halaal. Abdul states:

> *Jy doen 'n gebed op elke dier voor jy hom slag.* You pray for every animal before you slaughter him.

Emran, an immigrant from Malawi, also reiterates the importance of praying for each animal:

> You should not forget to pray when you are slaughtering the sheep, you have to pray every time. The sheep is a gift from God, so when we slaughter, we give a prayer to each and every sheep. It doesn't matter how many sheep, 500, it doesn't matter, we have to give a prayer to each and every one.

Their religion also commands them to pray five times during the day. Every halaal slaughterer speaks about the importance of prayer and it is constructed by these men as a source of strength. Abdul states:

> *Ek bid heeldag en dink aan my maker God. As jy opstaan en jy ken nie jou God nie, jy maak nie gebed nie, dan gaan jou dag net vir jou bietjie nie goed vir jou afloop nie. So ek bid elke dag, nie om my skoon te maak nie, maar sodat ek weet ek gaan 'n goeie dag hê.* I pray the whole day and think about my creator God. If you wake up in the morning and you don't know your God and you don't pray, then your day won't be a good day. So, I pray every morning, not to cleanse myself, but so that I know I will have a good day.

Ibrahim emphasises how his religion and prayer motivates every action in his life. He states:

> When I start something in the name of Allah, I know that everything is going to be right. We as Muslims believe to do everything in the name of the God, in the name of Allah.

For Ali, spirituality plays an important role at home and at work:

> I am just one of that people that is in a spiritual field when slaughtering animals, whether it is here, and whether it is at home. Animals is a creation of the creator, so you handle it with care. When it comes to spirituality, you handle it with more care, and of course, your spirituality comes first, then anything else.

From the above-mentioned quotes, it is clear to me that the halaal slaughterers' faith plays a very important role and their religious faith and purpose is an important emotionally focused coping strategy in their work, as well as in their everyday life. This can also be positive reframing since these slaughterers used their faith and religion to deal positively with the negative consequences of slaughtering. Positive reframing is when someone tries to reconsider

things in a more positive light. It is a powerful way to change your thinking. Walsh (2012) argues that spirituality and religion may help people find meaning in adversity and obtain a positive outlook on a situation.

It is important to note that the *Hadith* (a sacred text of the Islamic faith) states that killing and bleeding an animal should always be done with kindness and should be approached in the mindful and attentive way espoused by the Prophet Muhammad (Bergeaud-Blackler, 2007; Farouk, Pufpaff, & Amir, 2016). Islam also teaches zero tolerance to all forms of animal abuse throughout the halaal meat production process (Farouk et al., 2016). Therefore, Muslim slaughterers approach their work in the abattoir with an attitude of kindness and mindfulness. In this way, they can reframe their actions as kind and merciful, which may help them cope positively with their work. Their faith and religion may be a defence mechanism used to avoid facing the negative emotions associated with slaughtering. They socially construct slaughtering as positive because it fulfils their religious purpose and it helps them serve the Muslim community. They anchor their identity in these beliefs, which in turns helps them cope with their work in the abattoir.

Similar to the halaal slaughterers, the two kosher slaughterers both indicated that their spirituality and religion helped them see their work in a more positive light. They see the slaughtering of animals as not just a job, but as a good deed because they are helping serve their Jewish community by providing kosher meat. Similarly, to the halaal slaughterers, they anchor their identity in these beliefs, which enables them to deal with the emotional challenges of slaughtering positively. Daniel states:

> I think the moment when there is a concept of religious conviction, then you are able to emotionally deal with it in a positive way, in a profound manner. And your relationship to the animal is minimal in that it is only a creation of God that we have to eat.

Tzion also speaks about how his religion helps him reframe kosher slaughtering in a positive light because it is ultimately fulfilling a commandment and is a good deed:

> I am fulfilling a commandment to be able to supply kosher meat to the Jewish people. And it is a completely different thing. It is not just a job, it's what we call in Hebrew a mitzvah, a commandment, a good deed. So that is what I am doing, I am doing a good deed because it is highly specialised.

The kosher slaughterers' religion appears to be their central emotionally focused coping strategy because their work as slaughterers is sanctioned by their religion and community. They also feel that they are serving their community by being ritual Jewish slaughterers. Additionally, by reframing their work in the abattoir as "a good deed" they can feel altruistic about their work because they see it as fulfilling the needs of their religious community and honouring their faith. As a result, they can socially construct their work as moral and good, which helps them mitigate any negative psychological ramifications of their work. Since this type of positive reframing was also common with the halaal slaughterers, it appears to be a common coping strategy amongst religious sanctioned slaughterers.

While religion was an important coping strategy for all the religious sanctioned slaughterers, only two of the 12 secular slaughterers used religion as a coping strategy, which could have contributed to why secular slaughterers did not seem to cope as well at work. These two secular slaughterers spoke about how they made use of the Bible to feel better about their work. They spoke about how the Bible sanctions the slaughtering of animals and this helps them maintain a positive outlook at work. Kevin is a Christian and states:

> I know that long before I was born, in the Bible they slaughter animals and it is thus okay to do it.

Similarly to Kevin, Mfuneko is also a Christian and states:

> I enjoy my work and I do not feel sad, because I've also learned in the Bible that the animal are there to be slaughtered, that is what I've learned in the Bible.

These statements illustrate the sanctity these men find in their religion and how it helps them cope. Like the religiously sanctioned slaughterers, this can also be referred to as positive reframing since these two slaughterers used the Bible to better cope with the negative consequences of their work. They were the only two Christian slaughterers, as four others indicated that they hold traditional African beliefs and the remaining six did not specify any religion (see Table 3, p. 86).

The managers also acknowledged the importance of slaughterers adopting positive coping strategies to deal with their work. All the managers of the religiously sanctioned abattoirs spoke about the importance of prayer when working in a religiously sanctioned abattoir. The managers of the religiously sanctioned abattoirs also indicated that they gave the slaughterers access to prayer rooms and the religiously sanctioned slaughterers were afforded time to pray at work. It can thus be argued that slaughterers who belong to a specific religion or are spiritual might be better at their work because they cope better and find purpose in their work.

This finding concurs with that of Walsh (2012) who speaks about positive reframing and identified spiritual resources such as prayer and having a strong faith as factors of resilience. Other local research by Victor and Barnard (2016), similarly to the current study, also found that religion and especially prayer helps halaal slaughterers cope with the daily challenges of their work. They indicated that the religion of the halaal slaughterers helped them find meaning and purpose in their work as slaughterers. Victor and Barnard (2016) also indicated that some of the non-Muslim employees used religion to cope with their work

challenges. The study by Victor and Barnard (2016), however, only focuses on halaal and African slaughterers and not on kosher slaughterers and thus all the coping strategies that I identified for the kosher slaughterers represent new contributions to the literature surrounding abattoirs in South Africa.

When framing this finding in Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping, the use of religion can be seen as an emotionally focused coping strategy. However, when Lazarus and Folkman revised their model, they added meaning-focused coping strategies to their model and indicated that religion is a meaning-focused coping strategy. By looking at the findings above, the literature and Lazarus and Folkman's model, it can thus be argued that slaughterers used their religion, and especially prayer, to find meaning in their work at the abattoir. Meaning-focused coping involves drawing on one's values, beliefs, and goals to reorder life priorities, ascribe positive meaning to ordinary events, and to find and remind oneself of the benefits of stress (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010; Folkman, 2008). Meaning-focused coping, in turn, produces positive emotions, which restore the resources that influence cognitive appraisals, sustain coping efforts over time, and provide relief from distress (Folkman, 2008).

4.6.2 Social Support from Family Members

Social support from the family represents the microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and involves emotional, esteem, instrumental, and informational support. Emotional support refers to the availability of someone with whom the slaughterers can discuss problems, share feelings and talk about concerns. Esteem support is when someone encourages you, believes in you and reminds you of your strengths. Instrumental support is when someone does something practical for you to make your life easier. Informational support is when someone gives you advice and

information to make your life easier (Schwarzer et al., 2003). The halaal slaughterers speak about the emotional and esteem support they receive from their family members. Abdul states:

> *Ek spandeer baie tyd met my kinders en vrou en hulle ondersteun my. My vrou is my steunpilaar.* I spend a lot of time with my kids and wife and they support me. My wife is my tower of strength.

Amilah supports her husband Abdul's statement and states:

> *Ons is mos maar daar vir mekaar, so as daar enige probleme is dan sal ons dit mos nou uitpraat. Ons praat maar as daar enige iets is, so ondersteuning het hy maar altyd baie van my kant af.* We are there for each other, and if there are any problems, we will talk about it. We will talk to each other, and he always gets a lot of support from me.

Ajmal also seeks support from his wife and states:

> *Ek en my vrou gesels baie. Sy weet basies van alles wat hier by my werk by die abattoir aangaan en sy ondersteun my in alles.* I talk to my wife a lot. She basically knows everything about my work here at the abattoir and she support me with everything.

Layla also supports Ajmal's statement and she highlights how she supports him:

> He did have, with the small cows, and bulls, he did find that a bit difficult, and he basically just comes to talk to me. And then I try to comfort him, because he did tell me it was extremely sad for him to do that to such a small thing.

Emotional support from family members was a common thread amongst the halaal slaughterers and was an important coping strategy. Like the halaal slaughterers, the secular slaughterers also highlight the importance of emotional support from family members:

> My family support me and they encouraged me to keep on with the work. They say, even if people say this work is not good, you should keep on with it and don't leave your job.
>
> (Bongani, 33, IsiXhosa slaughterer working at a secular abattoir)

> *Eey, sometimes ba ndidiniwe ndiyabaxalela pha endlini. Bandijonga kakuhle…bandibekela amanzi ndihlambe…bandiphakele nditye…bayandinakakele nje. Ngomso ndivuke ndibetele*. Sometimes when I am so tired, I go home and tell my family everything about my day. They look after me, they run bath water for me, I bath, they make food for me, I eat, and they take care of me. Tomorrow when I wake up, I feel better.
>
> (Fezile, 24, IsiXhosa slaughterer working at a secular abattoir)

Social support from family, friends and the community play an important role in participants' lives and helps them maintain a positive outlook at work. It can be argued that slaughterers who have emotional support at home might cope better with work challenges. This finding is also seen in the local study by Victor and Barnard (2016), who also found that social support from family and friends helps slaughterers cope better at work. Similarly, Walsh (2012) indicated that informal social support from family and friends is an important coping strategy and factor of resilience. In Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model of stress and coping, social support is a problem-focused as well as an emotionally focused coping strategy. The halaal slaughterers used their social support as an emotionally focused coping strategy because they received emotional and esteem support from their family and friends. The secular slaughterers used their social support as a problem-focused as well as an emotionally focused

coping strategy because they received emotional and instrumental social support from their family and friends.

4.6.3 Hobbies as Coping Strategies

Some hobbies like playing sports and games, going for a walk and watching television, were reported as coping strategies amongst the halaal slaughterers. Abdul states:

> *Ek is iemand wat baie van sport hou. Ek het my hele lewe lank rugby gespeel, maar nou dat ek 'n rugprobleem het kan ek nie meer rugby speel nie. Ek hou ook baie van duiwe en ek het baie boeke oor duiwe, so ek is nou 'n duiweboer en ek hou daarvan om my duiwe te vlieg. Ek hou ook daar van om tyd met my familie te spandeer en ek speel graag krieket met my kinders. Ek hou ook soms daarvan om te gaan stap of om rugby en krieket op die TV te kyk om net 'n bietjie van die dag se werk te vergeet.* I am someone who loves sport. I've played rugby all my life, but now that I have back problems I can't play rugby anymore. I also loves doves and I have a lot of books about doves, so now I'm a dove farmer and I like to fly my doves. I love to spend time with my family and play cricket with my kids. Sometimes I also like to just go for a walk or watch rugby and cricket on the TV in order to forget about the day's work.

Ajmal states:

> *Ek speel graag games op my foon of ek gaan kuier by vriende as ek 'n bietjie wil ontspan.* I play games on my phone, or I visit friends when I need to relax.

Several of the halaal slaughterers mentioned their hobbies throughout the interviews. Like the halaal slaughterers, the secular slaughterers spoke about the importance of hobbies to relax and get their mind off their work. Watching or playing soccer was the most common

hobby amongst the secular slaughterers and many of them spoke about how it helped them feel connected to their communities. Kanelo states:

> I play soccer in the community and then I enjoy myself a lot. If I don't play soccer, I just spend time with my people.

Bongani also speaks about the importance of soccer in his life and states:

> I go out to watch soccer. If I don't watch soccer, I also enjoy playing the guitar.

Fezile, another secular slaughterer, also plays soccer. Johannes speaks about how he enjoys listening to music and states:

> I enjoy listening to music and spending time with friends and family to forget about the work.

The statement "to forget about work" suggests that the work that Johannes engages in is stressful and overwhelming, emphasising the importance of hobbies as a form of support. These findings demonstrate how hobbies and sports are used as an emotionally focused coping strategy, which helps slaughterers maintain a healthy work-life balance, which ultimately has a positive impact on their physical and psychological well-being. This finding is also reflected in the local study by Victor and Barnard (2016), who indicated that sport and entertainment help slaughterers cope with their stressful work environment.

The local study by Victor and Barnard (2016) was the only study I found in the literature that speaks about coping strategies used by abattoir employees. The coping strategies that I identified for the three slaughtering groups in the current study is thus a new contribution to the field of psychology and agriculture both in South Africa and internationally.

4.6.4 "We Are More Than a Family Here"

The halaal slaughterers in this group received emotional and informational social support from their colleagues. Support from colleagues plays an important role in how slaughterers cope with their daily work tasks. For most of the halaal slaughterers, their co-workers are their friends, who offer emotional support. They talk to each other, give advice and make jokes with one another. Ali illustrates the emotional and informational support he receives from most of his colleagues:

> My colleagues, we are friends, we are more than a family here. We share things with each other, we assist each other wherever we can, and we help each other by giving advice to each other. I will give them advice and I will assist them wherever I can, that is what I enjoy the most. I learn a lot on the floor from the people as they learn from me. We are here to help each other with domestic problems or any problems.

Ashraf also refers to the emotional support he receives from his co-workers and refers to them as friends:

> Everyone is so friendly here and you get use to all the people. I enjoy the friends that I've got here. We talk to each other a lot, we make jokes with each other, and when we've slaughtered a lot of animals, then we get a break and we can relax a bit.

The halaal slaughterers receive emotional and informational social support from their colleagues. This includes good communication, listening to each other and sharing advice. I believe that the positive relationships between the slaughterers in the abattoir may contribute to the positive attitude that many halaal slaughterers have towards their work and their strong psychological and physical health.

Like the halaal slaughterers, the kosher slaughterers also receive support from their co-workers, other staff members and managers of the abattoir. Daniel states:

> Yes, we have the facilities, in this pleasant environment, and the people are very accommodating, and they are very kind to where we come from and what is our purpose here, and we get the support from the people in the environment in which we work.

Drawing on my interviews with kosher slaughterers and my knowledge of the abattoir they work in, I know that they receive social support from their colleagues and staff members. This support includes emotional social support such as good communication, friendliness, and informational social support such as advice. The kosher slaughterers did not have many concerns and appeared to have good physical health and emotional and psychological well-being, which could also be attributed to the excellent social support they received from their work environment, friends, family and religious community.

All the slaughterers, irrespective of their religious beliefs, spoke about the social support they received from co-workers. This finding was corroborated by the managers at religious and secular abattoirs. The managers indicated that the slaughterers work well together and have good, respectful relationships with one another:

> They are quite supportive, and they will also help each other with work and there is good interaction between them. Both of them come from Malawi, so they already knew each other before they started working here. On Fridays when they have to go and pray, they will take over each other's duties, and give each other a chance to go to pray. They respect each other.
>
> (Albert, 39, Afrikaans-speaking manager of a religiously sanctioned abattoir)

> In general, everyone works well together. It has never been necessary to fire someone due to unacceptable behaviour.
>
> (Francois, 51, Afrikaans-speaking manager at a secular abattoir)

The above-mentioned quotes show that the slaughterers work well and there appear to be no problems between slaughterers and managers. In these abattoirs there are many people from different backgrounds and their ability to work together in a team helps facilitate their professional development and learning. When slaughterers listen to their colleagues and managers, they can learn from each other and grow both in their work and personal lives. This finding is aligned with the studies by Halbesleben (2010) and Schaufeli and Salanova (2007), who indicated that certain job resources such as social support from colleagues and supervisors are positively associated with better engagement from employees in the workplace. Victor (2012) also found, in her Master's thesis, that the employees in the stunning area are very supportive of one another. The emotional social support in the abattoir thus represents another emotionally focused coping strategy (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Good communication between employers and employees is very important in any workplace. The managers mentioned that they have good communication with the slaughterers, and this is an important management strategy for them. Gugulethu states that he communicates with his slaughterers a lot, and has empathy for them:

> You must not have sympathy with your employees, but you must have empathy with them. I will talk to, encourage, and support them, and if I see there is something that is beyond my control, then I will ask them if they want to go and talk to someone about it. I've already had one or two, not serious cases, but I've seen here comes a thing that has to be stopped, and then I just talk to them.

Garry also mentions the importance of communication at his abattoir:

> With the slaughterers we currently have, there are no problems. I am sometimes hard on them, but we maintain good communication and, if there are any deviations, we will immediately address it. If we did not have good communication systems in place, I could say that the slaughterers are emotionless, but we are communicating with them all the time.

The managers believe that they communicate well with their slaughterers and view good communication as important because it allows the abattoir to be more productive and efficient. If everyone understands their tasks, things may run more smoothly. The slaughterers may experience an increase in their confidence, productivity and commitment if they can maintain good communication with their managers. This will also lead to more confidence amongst the slaughterers in the abattoir and good overall health and well-being. This finding is aligned with Doe (2014), who indicated that communication misunderstandings in the workplace may lead to frustration and conflict. Doe (2014) also confirms this and argues that effective communication in the workplace leads to an increase in productivity, a decrease in errors, and support operations may run more efficiently.

4.6.5 "I Keep Work at Work and Home at Home"

Another coping strategy for the halaal slaughterers was maintaining a good balance between their work and home life. Abdul speaks about the importance of keeping his work and home life separate. He states:

> *As ek by die werk is dan consentrate ek net op my werk, en as ek by die huis is, my mind sluit ek af, en ek dink nie aan die werk nie. As ek by die werk is dan dink ek nie nog aan my vrou en kinders nie, want as ek heeldag aan hulle gaan dink dan gaan ek nie op my*

> *werk konsentreer nie, so ek dink net aan my werk en alles wat ek vir die dag moet doen. My vriende vra vir my of ek aan my werk dink en van my werk droom, dan sê ek nee, glad nie, my mind sluit ek af, ek hou werk by die werk en die huis by die huis.* When I am at work, I only concentrate on my work and when I am at home, I close my mind and I do not think about work. When I came to work, I don't think about my wife and my children, because if I am going to think about them the whole time, I won't concentrate on my work, so I only think about my work and everything that I need to do for the day. My friends ask me if I think about my work or dream about my work, then I say no, I don't, I close my mind, I keep work at work and home at home.

Abdul's wife, Amilah, also states that her husband can easily separate his home life from his work life:

> *Ek sal nogal sê, hy los sy werk by die werk. Daar kom mos maar dae wat dit nou bietjie te veel raak of so, maar dit is nie dat dit vir hom emotionally sal kwel nie. Ons praat daai oomblik daaroor, en dan is dit klaar. En môre gaan hy weer terug werk toe en dan is dit weer 'n nuwe dag. So hy kan onderskei tussen die huis en die werk.* I will actually say, he keeps work at work. There come days that everything gets too much for him, but it doesn't break him down emotionally. We will talk about it, and then it is over. Tomorrow he will go back to work, and it will be a new day for him. So, he can separate his home life from his work life.

Ali practises the same coping strategy of keeping his work and home life separate. He states:

> The policy is don't bring work home and don't bring home to work. That is my policy. You keep work at work and home at home. Yes, you will tell your family about your

day, but whatever happens at work stays at work. You don't mix the two. I work with knives, but work stays at work and home stays at home. I have knives at home, I have everything at home, but a heart I do have.

This is reminiscent of the concept of "doubling" that Dillard (2008) referred to in her legal essay. The concept of "doubling" referred to Nazi doctors who were able to separate their "self" into two separate wholes, one whole is a loving family man, while the other whole is a Nazi doctor, who participates in the subjugation of Jewish people. Similarly, the halaal slaughterers indicate that they can separate themselves into two separate wholes, one whole as a loving family man and the other whole as a slaughterer who kills animals. This is arguably an important coping strategy, since keeping the work and home spheres separate leads to more relaxation and less burnout. It will also increase slaughterers' productivity if they do not think about family-related problems at work and will improve their family relationships if they do not think about job-related issues at home. This may also lead to better health and well-being outcomes amongst slaughterers. This finding is aligned with research by Desrochers et al. (2005), who indicated that if work and family life are too closely integrated, it might lead to negative consequences such as work-family conflict, stress, increased distractions, depression, and unhappiness in both the work and family spheres. However, only the halaal slaughterers mentioned this, and the secular slaughterers and kosher slaughterers did not.

4.6.6 Job Rotation as a Management Strategy

Job rotation is important to combat the lengthy hours, repetitive work and dangers of boredom in the workplace. Only one secular slaughterer mentioned that he often wanted the managers to move him to another section. None of the other slaughterers mentioned anything

about job rotation, however, according to their managers, the slaughterers enjoy job rotation. Albert, a manager at a religiously sanctioned abattoir, speaks about this:

> We will also rotate; the bleeder and the stunner will regularly exchange. You can see they enjoy it when I take them away from the slaughter line and told them to do something else. Uhm, so I think that one of the biggest challenges for them is the routine nature of the job.

Gugulethu, one of the managers at a secular abattoir, mentions the importance of rotation:

> On the physical side, I bring rotation in every day, so it puts them at ease, and it helps them if they don't do the same job every day.

From the information reported above, it can be argued that job rotation improves the productivity of the abattoir and protects the interests of the employees. It also helps managers see where the slaughterer's interest lies and where they can use their skills most effectively. When managers move slaughterers to different sections at the workplace, it also allows slaughterers to be innovative and possibly propose new approaches to improve the work. By rotating the jobs they do, slaughterers can understand their colleagues' work, which will help improve their relationships with other employees. Job rotation also combats boredom and loss of concentration at work. This finding is aligned with research by Erikson and Ortega (2006), who argued that employees who are regularly rotated learn more about different sectors of the job, each other and which positions fit them the best. Erikson and Ortega (2006) also found that job rotation helps defeat workplace boredom and helps motivate employees. Other studies that confirm the benefits of job rotation include Coşgel and Meceli (1999) who stated that job rotation leads to more innovative employees, and Malinski (2002) who found that job rotation

leads to a decrease in work boredom and stress, and an increase in loyalty, innovation and productivity. In the following section, I will contextualise the above findings using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory.

4.7 Explaining Findings within Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

To further contextualise the findings of the current study, I will frame it in within Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986) ecological systems theory. According to Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986) ecological systems theory, different environmental factors may affect an individual's development and influence a person's well-being. The individual employee is placed in the centre of this theory. There are several environmental settings, i.e., home, workplace, community, broader society, and individual factors that may influence an employee's well-being.

4.7.1 The Microsystem

The microsystem refers to the primary systems with which the individual has direct contact daily, for example, workplace, colleagues, home, family, friends, religious institutions, etc. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). With regards to the findings of the current study, the microsystems of the slaughterers, already mentioned in the findings above, include the abattoir environment, colleagues, managers, family members, friends, culture and in the case of the religious slaughterers their relationship with God and their religious institutions. These microsystems may have a positive or negative influence on the slaughterers' well-being.

After visiting the abattoirs, and analysing the interview texts, the abattoir is a context that can influence a slaughterer's well-being. It is thus important that the abattoir owners, the managers and supervisors are aware of this fact. A slaughterer has their workload determined by their manager. The physical work environment is mediated by the organisation's

infrastructure planner and the working culture is determined by the social dynamics of the organisation in which the employee also plays an active role. There are several social dynamics at the abattoir that have a positive or negative influence on a slaughterer's health and well-being.

According to Dumay and Marini (2012) and Klein and Martin (2011), negative social interactions at work may influence an employee's health and well-being. The Productivity Commission (2010) indicated that negative social interactions at work may lead to psychosocial dysfunction, violence, fatigue, work-load pressure, and work-related stress. The Productivity Commission (2010) also indicated that psychosocial problems are on average more costly than physical problems, however, the Occupational Health and Safety Act pays more attention to physical problems than psychosocial problems. This may be because the managers have limited experience with psychosocial problems and do not know how to deal with such issues (Productivity Commission, 2010). This interpretation is aligned with the finding of the current study because the managers mentioned that they used job rotation and good communication skills to deal with the physical challenges of employees, but they did not appear to have any solutions to deal with the psychological challenges of the slaughterers (see section 4.6.4).

The environment of an abattoir represents a microsystem, and according to the findings in section 4.3 above, there are numerous factors related to this microsystem that have a negative influence on a slaughterer's well-being. The slaughterer's family and friends also represent a microsystem, and from the findings in section 4.4.1 and section 4.6.2 above, it is clear that this microsystem has a positive influence on a slaughterer's well-being.

Another microsystem in the lives of these abattoir workers is their relationship with God and their own religious institutions. Religious beliefs and institutions can be considered a community support system within Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (Brakenhoff

& Slesnick, 2015). The study interviewed kosher, halaal and secular slaughterers and there was an emphasis on prayer and their relationship with their religion. Findings revealed that religiously sanctioned slaughterers coped better with their work than the secular slaughterers because the more religiously-minded participants received support and reassurance from their religious beliefs and teachings. This is an important finding and highlights the importance of faith in coping with stressful work conditions.

4.7.2 The Mesosystem

The mesosystem refers to the relationship between two of the individual's microsystems, i.e., the work and family domains (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The relationship between a slaughterer's home and the abattoir may have a positive or negative impact on his well-being. According to Clutterbuck (2003, p. 8), work-life balance refers to, "a state where an individual manages real or potential conflict between demands on his or her time and energy in a way that satisfies his or her needs for well-being and self-fulfilment". Warhurst, Eikhof, and Haunschild (2008) argue that work and life should not necessarily be viewed as separate or exclusive since these two domains overlap. The researchers suggest that the phrase "work-life boundaries" should be used instead of "work-life balance" (Warhurst et al., 2008).

The work-life boundaries that occur in the abattoir include the long working hours and the violent working conditions. The long working hours may result in slaughterers spending more time at the abattoir and less time at home. These long working hours also cause fatigue and exhaustion. Some of the halaal slaughterers and the secular slaughterers stated that they are often tired from the physical nature of their work in the abattoir and the long working hours. The wives of the halaal slaughterers also indicated that their husbands are sometimes exhausted when they return home. One halaal slaughterer stated that he lives far from his work and must live away from home during the week to be close to work. The long working hours may result

in slaughterers not spending enough time with their families, and this may harm their well-being, which may also negatively impact their marriages. However, the halaal slaughterers reported that they have a good balance between their work and home life and do not appear to let their work influence their home life and vice versa (see section 4.6.5). The halaal slaughterer's wives are also very supportive of their work and understand their work challenges (see section 4.4.1 and section 4.6.2). As mentioned above, it is, however, possible that the immigrants do not receive the same amount of support from their families, since their families are living in Malawi, Somalia and Zimbabwe. Their families can encourage them over the phone, but I believe that it is not the same as the physical and emotional support received from someone who is living with you and is physically present.

The violent nature of slaughtering may also spill over and affect other areas of the slaughterers' lives. Although this was true for similar studies in the literature (Fitzgerald et al., 2009; Jacques, 2015), I did not find this amongst the religiously sanctioned slaughterers in the current study. All the halaal and kosher slaughterers, their managers, as well as their wives did not report any violence amongst the halaal and kosher slaughterers. One of the halaal slaughterer's wives states that she is not scared of her husband, even though he kills animals for a living (see section 4.4.1). One of the halaal slaughterers stated that although he works with sharp knives the whole day, he still has a heart and would not hurt anyone. The kosher slaughterers also stated that despite their work they still have compassion for animals and would not hurt another animal or human being.

In contrast, some of the secular slaughterers highlighted feeling angry and aggressive and linked this to the violent work they do in the abattoir. A few of their managers also explained that they could understand the link between slaughtering in an abattoir and violence outside of the abattoir. Although neither the secular slaughterers nor their managers mentioned any serious violence-related incidents, there was considerably more discussion surrounding the

possibility of a relationship between the violent nature of the work in the abattoir and violent behaviour by this group. Therefore, it seems to be more likely that in this case, the violent nature of the work may impact other areas of the secular slaughterers' lives as compared to the religiously sanctioned slaughterers. It can be argued that this may be related to the lack of religious purpose amongst the secular slaughterers, whilst the religiously sanctioned slaughterers have a religious purpose and a community who support and condone their work, whilst the other slaughterers do not.

Although the violent nature of the work was not directly linked to violence amongst the slaughterers in the current study, it was shown to harm the slaughterers' emotional well-being. The majority of the slaughterers experienced negative emotions or bad dreams and nightmares during the first few weeks of slaughtering. It is possible that they could be diagnosed with acute adjustment disorder and may experience emotional desensitisation (see section 4.5).

4.7.3 The Exosystem

The exosystem refers to the social structures of a society that are not in direct contact with the individual, but still influence his or her life, for example, the mass media, the world of work, and public agencies (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The exosystem is a protective domain for the well-being of South African abattoir employees since it refers to the South African Occupational Health and Safety Act (85 of 1993) and the SAAA's code of conduct and regulations. The duties of the South African Occupational Health and Safety Act (85 of 1993) are to ensure a healthy and safe environment for abattoir employees. They must ensure that all the equipment is safe, that employees wear safety gear, and that employees receive the requisite training to be slaughterers. These regulations are implemented to have a positive influence on slaughterer's well-being and prevent them from becoming injured, stressed or traumatised. Despite these two sets of regulatory authorities, it is still the slaughterers', their supervisors'

and their managers' responsibility to ensure that slaughterers adhere to all safety rules and regulations. Although these precautions are in place, the halaal slaughterers, as well as the secular slaughterers, still reported physical injuries (see section 4.3), and it remains a concern, as these physical injuries may lead to further stress, social and psychological problems. The slaughterers, as well as their managers, did, however, mention these safety regulations and that a first aid team is available (see section 4.3).

4.7.4 The Macrosystem

The macrosystem is the largest system and refers to an individual's culture, socio-economic status, ethnicity, race and living environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). With regards to the slaughterers of the current study, South Africa's economy influences their well-being. The halaal and secular slaughterers indicated that one of the reasons why they are still working in the abattoir is out of financial necessity. It is important that they financially provide for their families. While only a few of the halaal slaughterers mention this, the majority of the secular slaughterers argued that their low salary is a source of stress for them. The secular slaughterers are also the lowest-paid group of the three slaughtering groups (see Table 3, p. 86). Their income thus has a negative influence on their well-being and they are unable to access better employment due to their limited education and the high unemployment rate in the country. Their lives, except that of the White kosher slaughterers, are further affected by their race, as all of them are Coloured and Black, and are thus also affected by South Africa's oppressive racial history and carry the legacy of apartheid.

4.7.5 The Chronosystem

In terms of the chronosystem, Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986) wanted to consider changes over time, not only within the person but also in the environments in which that person is found,

to investigate how these changes may affect a person's developmental outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The chronosystem thus refers to the transitional phase, i.e., an individual's characteristics and the time in which he lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The chronosystem suggests that to promote health and well-being effectively in an abattoir, it is important that slaughterers engage in health and wellness programmes throughout the year. According to the chronosystem, it would be more effective to create a healthy work environment initially, instead of trying to make an unhealthy work environment better with health and well-being interventions (Kelloway & Day, 2005). This system can also refer to the slaughterers' emotional transition phase (from experiencing negative emotions, to becoming emotionally desensitised and having a positive outlook on their job) as discussed in section 4.5 above.

4.8 Conclusion

It can be concluded that the work experiences of abattoir workers have an influence on the slaughterers' well-being and affects the different domains of well-being, such as their physical health, social, emotional and psychological well-being. The job of a slaughterer is unpleasant and physically dangerous, with a high risk of on-duty injuries. There is also clear evidence that slaughterers experience different types of stress and emotional challenges daily.

I will now conclude this chapter by discussing the similarities between groups, the differences between groups, and the silent spaces.

Similarities between groups. Several similarities were found between the three groups. A few of the halaal slaughterers, as well as the secular slaughterers, did not necessarily choose the job of a slaughterer, but due to the high unemployment rate and limited job opportunities in Africa and South Africa, they work at the abattoir. Most of the Black and Coloured slaughterers are considered previously disadvantaged because of South Africa´s

history of racial oppression and it is important to be mindful of this when we consider their experiences. Both the halaal slaughterers and secular slaughterers take on the role of "breadwinners" and construct their masculine identity around the importance of being an economic provider to their families. Similarly, to the halaal slaughterers, the kosher slaughterers are also motivated by the religious purpose of their job and how it fulfils a need in their religious communities. Two of the secular slaughterers indicated that they grew up in the African religion and hold traditional African cultural beliefs, which include practises such as slaughtering animals to honour their ancestors. As a result, they were introduced to slaughtering at a very young age and this background, amongst other factors, motivated them to become slaughterers.

Another similarity between the halaal and secular slaughterers is that both groups experience physical challenges. The primary physical challenges are on-duty injuries, such as cut wounds, animals that attack the slaughterers, and back pain. These two groups also experience work-related stress, such as production-line and financial stress, as well as exhaustion and fatigue.

All the slaughterers experienced an emotional transition when they began working in an abattoir. The initial negative emotions they experienced included sadness, fear, guilt, and discomfort. Some also indicated that they had nightmares. However, all the slaughterers indicated that these emotions dissipated after a few weeks, followed by a loss of emotion. However, experiencing emotional desensitisation can present significant dangers in their workplace, because slaughterers may treat the animals cruelly, make mistakes at work and treat others both inside and outside the workplace disrespectfully. There is also a possibility of developing an adjustment disorder. The religiously sanctioned slaughterers, however, claimed to respect and feel compassion for the animals in the abattoir. However, despite the emotional desensitisation experienced by the slaughterers, they stated that they were happy at work. Only

a few of the halaal and secular slaughterers indicated that they could not work as slaughterers forever because of the long-term psychological effects.

The secular slaughterers explained their emotional challenges in more detail than the religiously sanctioned slaughterers, which may be because they did not associate their work with a religious purpose, and as a result, did not have religion as a protective factor to mitigate the psychological stressors of slaughtering.

For all the religiously sanctioned slaughterers, their religion, especially prayer, played an important role in helping them cope with their work. Similarly, two of the Christian secular slaughterers stated that the Bible helped them deal with the negative consequences of their work and see it positively. The halaal, as well as the secular slaughterers, mentioned the importance of social support from family and friends, as well as the hobbies they used to cope with the daily challenges of their work. The managers of religious and secular abattoirs also mentioned the importance of prayer. They indicated that the slaughterers work well together and there was good communication in the abattoirs. Job rotation was also used by every manager to improve productivity and help slaughterers cope better with their work. It was interesting to note that all of the slaughterers primarily use emotionally focused coping strategies to cope with the challenges of their work.

Differences between groups. One of the differences between the groups is that the kosher slaughterers did not find it difficult to find work, as the other two groups had done. The two kosher slaughterers worked as slaughterers because there are limited Jewish people in the Western Cape who have the requisite training to be a kosher slaughterer and therefore they became kosher slaughterers to serve the Jewish community. They did not discuss the lack of job opportunities in South Africa or financial stress at any point during the interviews, which all the other slaughterers did. The kosher slaughterers also did not mention anything about production-line and financial stress, exhaustion or fatigue, as did the other two groups.

Another difference between the groups is their level of education. To become kosher slaughterers, you must be trained as a rabbi, and have a high level of Jewish education. As a result, both kosher slaughterers were highly educated. Conversely, Muslims do not need to be highly educated to become halaal slaughterers. The only requirements are to be Muslim, sane and receive training at an abattoir. Six of the ritual Muslim slaughterers completed grade 12, whilst the other four did not complete high school. To be a secular slaughterer, you do not have to belong to a specific religion or have a specific level of education. The education level of the secular slaughterers ranged between grade 5 and grade 12. Another difference is that while kosher slaughterers experienced minimal physical challenges at work, both the halaal and secular slaughterers experienced frequent physical challenges.

The social harm experienced by the religiously sanctioned slaughterers primarily involved reactions of their family and friends. Their close family and friends all had positive views of their work, while one of the kosher slaughterers indicated that larger society does not necessarily think slaughtering is a good thing. The halaal and the secular slaughterers did not speak about the views of the broader society. For the secular slaughterers, the social challenges they felt were mostly feelings of anger and aggression. Although none of the participants mentioned serious cases, the link between slaughtering and violent behaviour should be investigated further. Findings revealed that alcohol abuse and violent behaviour mostly occurred among the other slaughterers on the slaughter line, and not among the throat cutters in the dirty area.

Silent spaces. It is also clear that the slaughterers may take on a hegemonic masculine identity, due to their work context, the abattoir, which is characterised by violence, therefore aspects of their masculine identity may become hyper-focused. For example, men are emphasised as breadwinners, who do not explore their emotional worlds or allow feelings in the workplace. When asked about their psychological health the slaughterers typically insisted

that they were fine and were adamant that their work did not affect them. Most of the slaughterers seemed unwilling to discuss their psychological health and repeatedly stonewalled me, choosing rather to talk more about their bodily health than their psychological health. This revealed that these men appeared to be silencing their emotions. There is also a considerable stigma surrounding mental health conditions in South Africa, which may have contributed towards this silence surrounding their psychological and mental health. It is also interesting that the slaughterers mentioned the importance of not bringing emotions into the abattoir, which indicates that these slaughterers purposively shut themselves off emotionally and adopted hyper-masculine identities. Although there is a link between violence and the work in an abattoir (Fitzgerald et al., 2009; Jacques, 2015), the slaughterers in the current study did not talk significantly about violence. Slaughterers may be afraid of placing their jobs in jeopardy if they spoke about violence in the abattoir and therefore may have chosen not to disclose certain things to me.

Managers also did not speak about protecting the psychological health of these slaughterers and remained silent on this topic. They spoke about protecting their physical health, but not their psychological health. It could be argued that the managers were not aware of this aspect. However, it should be mentioned that during the initial stages of this study, many abattoir managers/owners were approached to be part of this study and two of the larger abattoirs in the Western Cape declined to participate. The main reason for not allowing the research was that the owner and manager felt that the results of this study would require them to send their slaughterers for psychological care and that this would result in an additional cost to the company. The fact that they offered this as a reason suggests that the managers at the non-participating abattoirs were aware that there were psychological issues amongst the slaughterers in these abattoirs. It is only logical to assume that the managers at the participating abattoirs were also aware of this which is why they remained silent on this topic.

This study is original in the sense that it looks at the lives of abattoir employees through a variety of lenses: the social, emotional, psychological and physical lens. It also focuses on both secular and religious slaughterers, adding an interesting dimension previously not seen in other research. In the following chapter, the main findings of the study will be summarised, and the contributions, originality and limitations will be discussed. Finally, recommendations for further research will be presented.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

A review of the literature and the interviews in the current study demonstrated that the slaughtering of animals in abattoirs has an influence on a slaughterers well-being, and affects the different domains of their well-being, such as physical, social, emotional and psychological well-being. However, there is sparse literature on the well-being of slaughterers working in abattoirs in South Africa, making the current study especially relevant and unique. The doctoral study aimed to explore and obtain a deeper understanding of the lives of slaughterers working in abattoirs in South Africa. In this chapter, a summary of the findings, limitations, contributions and originality of the study, recommendations for future research and the final conclusions, will be discussed.

5.2 Summary of Findings

With this qualitative, interpretive study I, the researcher, wanted to obtain a deeper understanding of the lives of abattoir employees in South Africa. More specifically, I wanted to understand whether the slaughtering of animals may influence the well-being of slaughterers. In the initial stage of this study, I wanted to follow a grounded theory approach. After the analysis of my data, the findings, however, indicated that Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory and Lazarus and Folkman's transactional model of stress and coping were more appropriate theoretical frameworks and were thus used. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with 10 Muslim slaughterers, two Jewish slaughterers, 12 secular slaughterers (including Christian, African and non-believers), three Muslim wives and eight managers. The findings of the study revealed the physical, social, emotional and psychological influence of

slaughtering animals in an abattoir. The study also highlighted the impact that South Africa's historical past of colonialism and racial oppression has had on the lives of the participants. Since this was a qualitative, interpretive study, the findings only reflect the participants' words and the researcher's interpretation of these words. It is thus difficult to generalise the findings of the current study to the wider population and instead the study serves as a window into the experiences of abattoir workers in South Africa.

South Africa's historical past of racial oppression was one of the main reasons why many Black and Coloured slaughterers were working in these abattoirs. In contrast with this finding, the central reason why Muslim and Jewish participants were slaughterers was due to their religious purpose and many of them viewed their profession as a religious calling.

The halaal and secular slaughterers indicated that there were many on-duty injury risk factors, such as slippery and wet floors, dangerous equipment and machinery and animals that were not properly stunned, which placed them in physical danger daily. Participants stated that these risk factors led to injuries such as slips and falls, cuts, wounds, sprains, and animal attacks. In contrast, the kosher slaughterers did not mention any risk factors for injury. They reported that the machinery they were working with was advanced, well-developed and protected them against injuries, and in fact, the abattoirs where they worked had the latest equipment, particularly the stunning restraining devices developed by Temple Grandin. The machinery in the other abattoirs did not appear to be as protective and well-developed as those in the kosher abattoirs.

Although South Africa is known for its prevalence of violence, the current study did not find enough evidence of violent behaviour amongst slaughterers working in the dirty area of an abattoir. Two secular slaughterers stated that they sometimes became angry and they linked this anger to the nature of their work, but they also explained that they never acted on their anger. Two of the secular slaughterers' managers stated that they thought slaughtering

animals may be linked to violence and aggression. However, the managers also indicated that violence only appeared to occur amongst the workers in other areas on the slaughter line.

All the slaughterers experienced an emotional after starting work at the abattoir. All of them reported that they initially felt emotional when they began slaughtering but these emotions dissipated after a few days, weeks or months. Some of the slaughterers may suffer from a condition named adjustment disorder. They, however, stated that over time their emotions normalised, and they became accustomed to their work. This period is characterised by emotional desensitisation. This emotional desensitisation can be linked to the hyper-masculine identity these men took on during their work. The violent nature of their work meant that aspects of their masculine identity became hyper-focused. The men in the study constructed themselves as breadwinners, who seemed alienated from their emotions. This was communicated in various statements in the interviews, which highlighted the following themes: they did not allow feelings in the workplace; their insistence that they were fine when asked about their psychological health and that that their work had no effect on them; their refusal to engage in a discussion about their emotions concerning their work; they cited their wives as evidence that they were fine; and they continuously emphasized on their bodily health, rather than on their psychological health.

Their responses seemed to suggest that men's emotions need to be silenced to work in the abattoir and this could represent a coping strategy. There is however also a possibility that the slaughterers might be repressing their emotions. There is a possibility that the heightened stigma surrounding mental conditions in South Africa combined with the hegemonic masculine identities these men adopted resulted in a cloud of silence surrounding their psychological health. Every slaughterer, irrespective of their religion, mentioned the importance of not bringing feelings into the abattoir. There were only two halaal slaughterers and one secular slaughterer who briefly explored the psychological influence of working in an abattoir and they

said they would not be able to work in the abattoir for the rest of their lives because of the psychological influence of their work. It should be noted though that these two halaal slaughterers had the highest level of education and this could explain why they were more comfortable expressing these feelings.

The interviews revealed that the managers oversaw the health of their workers by implementing job rotation, fostering good relationships with the workers and good communication. However, there was also no mention amongst managers regarding protecting the psychological health of slaughterers. This may be because they were not aware of the psychological consequences of slaughtering and thus did not make any suggestions. Managers may not have had enough knowledge regarding psychological and mental health and therefore did not know how to approach this problem. Their silence could also be attributed to the stigma surrounding mental health conditions in South Africa. Managers may have been fearful that discussing this would have resulted in a report, which called for mandatory psychological interventions in abattoirs. This would have resulted in additional costs at the abattoirs and therefore they may have steered away from this topic on purpose.

Another key finding in the current study was that the religiously sanctioned slaughterers viewed their work differently to secular slaughterers. Religious beliefs shaped how the halaal and kosher slaughterers saw their work and themselves. Another central theme was fostering good relationships with family members, friends, and colleagues, which helped slaughterers maintain a positive outlook at work. This finding was pervasive amongst both religious and secular slaughterers.

5.3 Contributions and Originality of the Study

The research question of the doctoral study was: How does the slaughtering of animals influence the well-being of slaughterers working in the “dirty area” of an abattoir? The current

study explored this question and attention was placed on the physical, social, emotional and psychological domains of well-being. The interview questions addressed these concerns. I also wanted to know how the slaughterers came to be working at the abattoir. Motivations appeared to be related to financial necessity, South Africa's unemployment problems, the legacy of apartheid and religious beliefs. I also explored how slaughterers coped with their daily challenges and why some slaughterers cope better than others.

This study makes an original contribution to the field of psychology and agriculture, filling a gap in the literature. It is also original in terms of its theoretical dimensions. This qualitative, interpretive study utilised the theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory and Lazarus and Folkman's transactional model of stress and coping. No other study in the literature regarding abattoir employees used a similar methodological and theoretical design and theory, demonstrating the originality of the thesis.

When reviewing the international literature, most studies regarding the well-being of abattoir employees were quantitative and the majority of them focused on the physical well-being of slaughterers, neglecting the psychological dimension. Considering the limited research on this subject, this qualitative doctoral study, focusing on the well-being of slaughterers (physical, social, emotional and psychological) is original in terms of its filling a significant gap in the literature. In South Africa, only one study, which had a small sample size, has been conducted on this subject (Victor & Barnard, 2016), whilst this doctoral study uses a larger sample size and thus bridges a significant gap in the literature.

This doctoral study is also original because it explores a diverse range of experiences by interviewing kosher, halaal and secular slaughterers of different racial groups. No other study in the international and local literature has done such an ethnically and religiously diverse study in terms of abattoir workers. The study also explores the experiences of religious slaughterers and explores the role of their religion in their work.

The study also makes a significant contribution to the abattoir industry because it can be used to inform the development of guidelines for abattoir managers and slaughterers. The study provides useful information on the psychological needs of slaughterers and can also be used to develop psychosocial interventions for the slaughterers, equipping the slaughterers with skills to manage their stress and promoting their well-being. Such interventions may include techniques such as relaxation, meditation, cognitive behavioural therapy, mindfulness training, and exercise programmes, as well as other techniques such as education and interpersonal skills development. They can do educational programmes at the abattoirs, to inform slaughterers about stress and how it can be managed, and health promotion initiatives that are based on the assumption that a healthier lifestyle, for example more exercise and better diet, will improve well-being (Anger et al., 2015; Rongen, Robroek, van Lenthe, & Burdorf, 2013). The slaughterers can also do personal skills development training in communication, goal setting and time management, to decrease their stress levels and promote their well-being. One of the key findings, the coping strategies of slaughterers, may be useful in developing psychosocial interventions for slaughterers and could form part of a possible wellness strategy for the abattoir industry.

I would like to propose the following strategies that abattoir managers might implement, to improve the well-being of slaughterers. Firstly, the majority of the slaughterers indicated that social support from family, friends and colleagues played a major role in their lives. With regards to this finding, I would suggest that a facilitator (managers, supervisors, slaughterers or an independent person) should start social support groups at abattoirs. Support groups would be beneficial, as they will provide an opportunity for the slaughterers to share their feelings and experiences with people who are in the same situation as they are. Slaughterers can also share their coping strategies, which may be particularly helpful to the secular slaughterers as they seemed to lack adequate coping strategies. Psychosocial

interventions and programmes such as social groups could teach them how to access support and construct their own coping strategies, which could be tremendously helpful. This will also be beneficial for the immigrant slaughterers, since their families do not live in South Africa, and thus they do not receive the same amount of support as the other slaughterers.

Secondly, it would be beneficial if a professional person, for example, a psychologist, went to different abattoirs and educated the slaughterers about possible emotional challenges that might occur working in an abattoir. If any of the slaughterers felt that they needed to consult a psychologist, they should be provided with free counselling. Since findings revealed a presence of fatigue, employees should be evaluated regularly for signs of fatigue and burnout by a psychologist, to help prevent psychological distress, physical injuries or accidents at the abattoir.

Thirdly, I suggest that abattoir managers keep implementing job rotation, and that job rotation should be mandatory at all abattoirs in South Africa. It would be beneficial for both the slaughterers and the managers since it decreases work boredom and increases the quality of work production. It would also assist in reducing some of the physical stress placed on the slaughterers.

Fourthly, I suggest that abattoir managers implement strength training and perhaps physiotherapy sessions at their abattoirs to increase the physical fitness of slaughterers and ensure that slaughterers recover from injuries properly. It is clear from the literature, as well as from my findings, that the slaughtering of animals has a major impact on a slaughterer's physical well-being. Therefore, it would be beneficial if abattoir managers could help slaughterers maintain their physical health so that they can perform their work more easily and with more comfort.

Lastly, since the religiously sanctioned slaughterers used their religion and prayer as a major coping strategy in their lives, it would be benefitial to help the secular slaughterers, who

do not have their religion to support them, to find something similar, something within themselves, that they can use as a coping strategy. One suggestion that I can make is to apply interventions to help these slaughterers to develop a more positive mind-set. A more positive mind-set will help these slaughterers to feel vigorous, to be more productive at work, and it will positively affect their well-being.

5.4 Limitations of the Study

No research study is without limitations, and every researcher is responsible for highlighting the difficulties of a study and addressing them accordingly (Oliver, 2004). As this is a qualitative interpretive study, I am the primary instrument of the study and need to consider my own biases and subjectivity to ensure the credibility of the research (Patton, 2002). I practised constant reflexivity to ensure that my own bias and subjective identity did not influence the research process. Although I had to interpret the participant's words, I discussed my findings with others in the psychology and agricultural field to ensure that my bias and subjectivity as a researcher did not influence the results. I try to take a step back and try to understand what the participants were saying, without letting my bias as a researcher influence the findings, as far as I could. All the interviews were conducted at different abattoirs, but since I have a visual impairment, I could not see these environments, I could not see what the dirty area looked like. Therefore, I did not see anything at the abattoir that could have influenced my findings. I relied completely on the words of my participants to analyse my data.

Another limitation of this study could have been my gender, age, culture and language. All the participants, except the three wives, were men. Most of the participants were older than me and of a different culture. Most participants also had a different mother tongue to mine. They also did not share the same historical background as me as I am a White, Afrikaans woman. These factors could have influenced my interviews. However, to protect against these

factors I obtained an interpreter who was the same race as the isiXhosa participants and made the interviews easier and more relaxed. I found that the participants opened up much more with her since they could communicate in their mother tongue, isiXhosa. I also tried to put the other participants at ease by assuring them that the interviews were highly confidential. I tried to create a safe environment for them, and I told them that they could withdraw from the study at any time. I tried to build a trustworthy relationship with all the participants, and I think I succeeded because there was a good rapport in my interviews. It is, however, still possible that the participants did not share everything with me, which I think is true because many of the men would not explore their feelings related to their work.

The sample chosen for this study can also be criticised because I only conducted interviews with slaughterers in the Western Cape province of South Africa and this is not representative of South Africa. However, qualitative research is not concerned with generalisability or large sample sizes, but rather with the rich experiences and narratives of individuals. I defend my choice of a qualitative research design because a qualitative study exploring the impact of working as a slaughterer in an abattoir and the associated physical, psychological and social effects of such work, was needed as few qualitative studies examine the experiences of those working in the abattoir industry.

5.5 Recommendations for Future Research

It would be beneficial to conduct more research on the well-being of South African (and international) slaughterers as this is still an under-researched area. The findings of the current study showed that slaughterers are exposed to on-duty risk factors that can lead to injuries, however, there is currently no quantitative research documenting this in South Africa. Conducting quantitative research into on-duty risk factors and work-related injuries in the abattoir industry in South Africa would provide valuable information to the agricultural

industry and the research community and may help create better safety regulations. The current study also found that slaughterers experienced some form of psychological harm as a result of their work. It would be useful to conduct quantitative research on slaughterers across South Africa, measuring emotional well-being in the workplace by using specific psychological tests and scales. There should also be more qualitative research done on how the slaughterers (who were all male in this context) construct their masculine identity in the context of their work in the abattoir.

The interviews revealed that many of the participants expressed feelings of fatigue and it may be useful in the future to research fatigue, burnout and disengagement among abattoir workers using the Oldenburg Burnout Inventory (OLBI) self-assessment tool. This was not possible in the current scope of the doctoral study but using a quantitative self-assessment tool such as the OLBI would help gain more insight into the experiences of abattoir workers.

In the majority of the international studies on the well-being of slaughterers, there was a link between working in an abattoir and violence. However, the current study did not find enough evidence to confirm this link and further quantitative research is needed to determine whether there is a link between the incidence of violence in society and the work in an abattoir in South Africa. Further research could also focus on all workers in the abattoirs and not just slaughterers on the kill floor. The current study can also be replicated in other provinces in South Africa and it would be interesting to see if the same findings are found in other parts of the country.

5.6 Conclusion

The findings of the current study revealed that slaughtering animals in an abattoir is dangerous work with various risks and consequences, such as physical injuries and psychological symptoms. However, some slaughterers adapted well to their challenging work

and exhibited resilience. The findings confirm that working in an abattoir does have a emotional affect on a slaughterer and may negatively harm slaughterers as their emotions appeared to become increasingly desensitised. Other protective factors such as religious faith and purpose helped mitigate this harm for the religiously sanctioned slaughterers, whilst secular slaughterers seemed to lack these coping resources. The study of the psychological, emotional, social and physical domains of well-being of slaughterers in abattoirs is an under-researched area in South Africa and this study bridges a significant gap in the research, providing useful and unique information for the agricultural profession and research community.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Permission Letter to Abattoir

Dear abattoir member,

I am currently busy with my PhD in psychology at Stellenbosch University and I do my study under supervision of Dr Zuhayr Kafaar and Prof Louwrens Hoffman. With my study, I aim to explore the well-being of slaughterers working in the dirty area of an abattoir.

Through a literature search I have found that slaughterers working as stunners or bleeders at an abattoir may develop psychological and physical disorders due to the daily challenges of their work. Some of these disorders include post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety, violent behaviour, substance abuse, etc. Some slaughterers have the ability to cope with these challenges, but others struggle to cope and then start to develop psychological disorders. These disorders may influence their work as well as their relationships with co-workers and family members.

A study focusing on how slaughterers experience their work and what the influence of slaughtering animals have on their well-being, will make a positive contribution to the well-being of abattoir employees, as it will help researchers to identify factors that can make abattoir employees more resilient within and outside their work setting.

If one can explore the well-being of slaughterers, and discover what the influence of slaughtering have on their well-being, psychosocial and health interventions may be developed. The findings of the study can also be used to give employees access to counselling, debriefing sessions and job rotation – which may lead to better coping. The results can also be used to develop prevention strategies for employees before they start working in the dirty area of an

abattoir. The results will therefore make a positive contribution to the abattoir industry of South Africa. The study will also make a contribution to the field of psychology in South Africa as well as internationally and fill a gap in the literature, since there are limited studies done on the subject.

To collect the data, I need a number of stunners and bleeders working in the "dirty area" of the abattoir. I want to conduct interviews with the stunners and bleeders to ask them about the experience of their work and how they cope with the daily challenges of their work. I also want to interview a few managers at the abattoir as well as a few family members of the abattoir employees.

With this letter I ask if you will give me permission to interview stunners, bleeders and managers at your abattoir for my research project. On your acceptance of my request, I will also send you my research proposal (accepted by the department of psychology and by the ethical committee of Stellenbosch University), so that you can see why I am doing this study, the benefits of the study and the processes I am using to collect and analyse my data.

The study will not cause any harm to the abattoirs or the participants. Participation is anonymous and I keep every interview confidential.

If you agree to help me, can you please send me a permission letter, and I will contact you again to arrange further meetings.

Kind regards,

Elna Dürr

E-mail: elnadurr@gmail.com

Appendix B

Informed Consent Form for Slaughterers and Managers

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

UNIVERSITY STELLENBOSCH

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

A qualitative interpretive study exploring the well-being of slaughterers.

You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Ms Elna Dürr, Department of Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch. She does this in order to gain a doctoral degree. You are a possible participant in this study because you are currently working as a stunner / bleeder / supervisor / manager at a registered abattoir of South Africa.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The main purpose of this study is to discover what the influence of slaughtering is on the well-being of slaughterers. The study will further aim to examine how the slaughterers experience their work, and how they cope with the daily challenges of slaughtering.

2. PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate in the study, we ask that you must do the following:

You must confirm an appropriate time and place with the researcher where and when the semi-structured interview will be conducted. During the interview you will be asked about your experience as a slaughter, your life at the abattoir, the influence of your work on your well-

being and how you cope with the challenges of your work. The managers wil answered questions regarding the well-being of the slaughterers working at the abattoir.

The semi-structured interview will be between 40 minutes and an hour. Semi-structured interviews will also be conducted with the managers / supervisors and family members of the employees.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

If you are uncomfortable or unhappy about a question, or if a specific question upset you, and you feel you want to talk to someone, you are welcome to talk to the researcher after the interview, and she will put you in contact with a psychologist if necessary. If you cannot afford the treatment, the researcher will put you in contact with someone who offers free counselling.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANT OR TO SOCIETY

At the end of the interview, you may realize what influence your work have on your well-being and your colleague's well-being, and realise that it is good to talk to someone about your experiences.

The results of the study can be used to developed intervention programs to help slaughterers to cope better in their work and to help employers with job placements. Finally, the results will make a contribution to the field of psychology and to the abattoir industry of South Africa.

5. COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will received a R150 food voucher for participation.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information provided by the investigation, that can be related to you, will remain confidential and only with your permission, be disclosed or as required by law.

Confidentiality will be maintained by storing the data in a password-protected file on the researcher's personal computer. No one except the researcher and promotor will look at it.

The data will not be available to anyone else. It will only be stated in the complete thesis, without any personal identification.

The interview will be taped, but only with your permission, and only the researcher will have access to it. The researcher will transcribe the recorded interview and as soon as the thesis is completed, all the maintenance records will be wiped clean.

The researcher intends to publish a few journal articles after the completion of her thesis, but although the results will be reported in the articles, there will be no personal details and identification of the participants.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can decide whether you want to participate in the study or not. If you volunteer to participate in the study, you can at any time withdraw from the study without any adverse consequences.

You can refuse to answer certain questions, but still participate in the study. The investigator can withdraw you from the study if circumstances make it necessary.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, feel free to get in touch with the researcher: Me. Elna Dürr, tell: 0766841249; e-mail: elnadurr@gmail.com; or the promotors: Dr. Zuhayr Kafaar, tell: 0218083447; e-mail: zkafaar@sun.ac.za or Prof Louwrens Hoffman: tell: 0218084747; e-mail: lch@sun.ac.za

9. PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

You may at any time withdraw your consent and discontinue participation, without any adverse consequences to you. By participating in the research, in no way you waive any legal claims, rights or remedies. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact Ms. Maléne Fouche [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] of the Division of Research Development at the University of Stellenbosch.

STATEMENT BY PARTICIPANT

The above information was provided and explain to me,.....[name of participant], by Elna Dürr in [Afrikaans/English] and I speak the language/or I'm satisfied with the translation. I got the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in the study. A copy of this form is provided to me.

_____ _____

Name of participant Signature of participant

Date _____

STATEMENT BY INVESTIGATOR

I hereby declare that I have fully explained the information in this document to .....[name of participant]. He/she is encouraged and enough time was given to ask me any questions. The interview was conducted in [Afrikaans/*English]

_____ _____

Signature of investigator Date

Goedgekeur Subcommittee A 25 October 2004

Appendix C

Informed Consent Form for Family Members

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

UNIVERSITY STELLENBOSCH

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

A qualitative interpretive study exploring the well-being of slaughterers.

You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Ms Elna Dürr, Department of Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch. She does this to gain a doctoral degree. You are a possible participant in this study because you are a family member of a slaughterer currently working at a registered abattoir of South Africa.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The main purpose of this study is to discover what the influence of slaughtering is on the well-being of a slaughterer. The study will examine the experiences of slaughterers and how they cope with the challenges and high demands of their job.

2. PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate in the study, we ask that you must do the following:

You must confirm an appropriate time and place with the researcher where and when the semi-structured interview will be conducted. During the interview you will be asked about the slaughterer's general health and well-being, the challenges of his work and how he cope with those challenges. The semi-structured interview will be between 40 minutes and one hour.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

If you are uncomfortable or unhappy about a question, or if a specific question upset you, and you feel you want to talk to someone, you are welcome to talk to the researcher after the interview, and she will put you in contact with a psychologist if necessary. If you cannot afford the treatment, the researcher will put you in contact with someone who offers free counselling.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANT OR TO SOCIETY

At the end of the interview, you may realize what influence slaughtering have on a slaughterers health and well-being and on their colleague's health and well-being. The results of the study can be used to developed intervention programs to help slaughterers to cope better in their work and to help employers with job placements. Finally, the results will make a contribution to the field of psychology and to the abattoir industry of South Africa.

5. COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will received a R150 food voucher for participation.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information provided by the investigation, that can be related to you, will remain confidential and only with your permission, be disclosed or as required by law.

Confidentiality will be maintained by storing the data in a password-protected file on the researcher's personal computer. No one except the researcher will look at it. The data will not be available to anyone else. It will only be stated in the complete thesis, without any personal identification.

The interview will be taped, but only with your permission, and only the researcher will have access to it. The researcher will transcribe the recorded interview and as soon as the thesis is completed, all the maintenance records will be wiped clean.

The researcher intends to write and publish journal articles, but although the results will be reported in the articles, there will be no personal details and identification of the participants.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can decide whether you want to participate in the study or not. If you volunteer to participate in the study, you can at any time withdraw from the study without any adverse consequences.

You can refuse to answer certain questions, but still participate in the study. The investigator can withdraw you from the study if circumstances make it necessary.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, feel free to get in touch with the researcher: Me. Elna Dürr, tell: 0766841249; e-mail: elnadurr@gmail.com; or the promotors: Dr. Zuhayr Kafaar, tell: 0218083447; e-mail: zkafaar@sun.ac.za or Prof Louwrens Hoffman: tell: 0218084747; e-mail: lch@sun.ac.za

9. PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

You may at any time withdraw your consent and discontinue participation, without any adverse consequences to you. By participating in the research, in no way you waive any legal claims, rights or remedies. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact Ms. Maléne Fouche [mfousun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] of the Division of Research Development at the University of Stellenbosch.

STATEMENT BY PARTICIPANT

The above information was provided and explain to me,.....[name of participant], by Elna/Patience in [Afrikaans/English/Xhosa] and I speak the language/or I'm satisfied with the translation. I got the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in the study. A copy of this form is provided to me.

_____ _____

Name of participant Signature of participant

Date_____

STATEMENT BY INVESTIGATOR

I hereby declare that I have fully explained the information in this document to .....[name of participant]. He/she is encouraged and enough time was given to ask me any questions. The interview was conducted in [Afrikaans/English/Xhosa]

_____ _____

Signature of investigator Date

Appendix D

Biographical Questionnaire for Slaughterers and Managers

All the information in this questionnaire is strictly confidential and will be analysed anonymously. Please make a cross in the appropriate block or complete the statement where necessary:

Age:.....

Gender: Male □ Female □

Religious affiliation: Christian □ Jewish □ Moslem □ Hindu □

Other…….

Home language: Afrikaans □ English □ Ndebele □ Northern Sotho □

Sotho □ Swazi □ Tsonga □ Tswana □ Venda □ Xhosa □

Zulu □ Other.....……

Current Work Situation: Stunner □ Bleeder □ Supervisor □ Manager

□ Other…….

Highest educational qualification: ……...

Monthly Household Income

(the combined income of all the adults in the home who are currently working):

R0 to R4.528 □ R4.529 to R12.643 □

R12.644 to R30.327 □ R30.328 to R52.593 □

More than R50.000 □

How many adults are currently employed at your home:……

Appendix E

Biographical Questionnaire for Family Members

All the information in this questionnaire is strictly confidential and will be analysed anonymously. Please make a cross in the appropriate block or complete the statement where necessary:

Age:.....

Gender: Male □ Female □

Religious affiliation: Christian □ Jewish □ Moslem □ Hindu □

Other…….

Home language: Afrikaans □ English □ Ndebele □ Northern Sotho □

Sotho □ Swazi □ Tsonga □ Tswana □ Venda □ Xhosa □

Zulu □ Other.....……

For how long have you known the slaughterer: …….

Are you married: **Yes** □ No □

If Yes, for how long: …….

Current Work Situation: …….

Highest educational qualification: ……...

Monthly Household Income

(the combined income of all the adults in the home who are currently working):

R0 to R4.528 □ R4.529 to R12.643 □

R12.644 to R30.327 □ R30.328 to R52.593 □

More than R50.000 □

How many adults are currently employed at your home:……

Appendix F

Semi-Structured Interview for Slaughterers

I'm going to talk to you about the work that you do here and different aspects of your work.

1. Tell me about your background, where did you grow up etc?

a. Probe for nuclear vs extended family when growing up (Who all lived in the house with you when you were growing up? Who all lives with you in your house now?)

2. Why did you decide to come and work as a slaughterer?

a. Probe the response for more detail. "You said one of the reasons for deciding to work as a slaughterer was XXX. Can you tell me a little more about this?"

b. Ask whether there are other factors that influenced this decision

3. How do you feel about the work that you do? Probe for: what is positive about your work, what do you enjoy about your work? What is negative about your work, what don't you enjoy about your work?

4. Tell me about your work at the abattoir, what kind of animals do you slaughter and how many animals do you slaughter on one day? Tell me about an average day at the abattoir.

5. Are there any differences for you in the slaughtering of different animals?

6. What was your first experience of the abattoir?

a. Probe for "Were you prepared for what you saw? Did you know what to expect? Has anything changed for you since that first experience?"

7. What was your first experience like of being a slaughterer?

8. Tell me about the environment you work in.

9. Tell me about the physical challenges of your work. Probe for injuries at work and work pressure.

10. Tell me about the emotional challenges of your work. Probe for what emotion do you feel in your head when killing an animal or traumatic feelings about the job.

11. Can you tell me about any causes of stress at your work?

12. Was the work an adjustment or did you adjust easily to the demands of the work?

13. Can you tell me about how, if at all, your work influences other areas of your life?

a. Probe for family, friends, social life. Relationships.

b. Probe for the influence of your work on your well-being? Do you think about your work after hours?

14. What are the things at your work that influences you the most outside of work?

a. Probe for influencing well-being

b. Probe for influencing family life

c. Probe for influencing social life/friends, etc.

15. What are your family and friend's reactions about your job?

16. How do you cope with the challenges of your work?

a. Probe for friends

b. Probe for family

c. Probe for hobbies

17. Can you tell me about any sources of support that you may have that makes it possible for you to work here?

a. Do you received any social support at your work? Tell me about the support.

b. Do you received any social support at home? Tell me about the support.

c. Do you received any social support in your community? Tell me about the support.

Appendix G

Semi-Structured Interview for Managers

1. How did you decide to start working at the abattoir? How long do you work here? What is your job here?
2. From your point of view, how do the slaughterers in the dirty area treat each other?
3. How do the slaughterers treat the animals?
4. Do you see any deviant behaviour in the slaughterers? Tell me more.
5. What do you think is the highest demands and the biggest challenges of the slaughterer's work? Physically and emotionally.
6. What factors in the abattoir do you think have the most impact on the slaughterer's well-being?
7. How do you think does the slaughterers cope with their work challenges?
8. Do some slaughterers cope better than others and why?
9. Do the slaughterers receive any training before they start working at the dirty area of the abattoir?
10. How do you decide on the best person for the job?

Appendix H

Semi-Structured Interview for Family Members

1. Did you know him before he start working as a slaughterer?
2. Did he change in any way since starting to work at the abattoir?
3. Describe the slaughterer's mood at home.
4. What is the biggest physical challenges of his work?
5. What is the biggest emotional challenges of his work?
6. How do you feel about his work?
7. How do your friends and family feel about his work?
8. Do you support him in any way and how?
9. What does he do to cope with the challenges of his work?

Appendix I

List of Participants

Participant pseudonym	**Job description**	**Level of education**	**Age**	**Language**	**Duration of employment**
Abdul	Halaal slaughterer	Grade 11	48	Afrikaans	27 Years
Ajmal	Halaal slaughterer	Grade 12	39	Afrikaans	1 Year
Ali	Halaal slaughterer	College degree	48	English	10 Years
Ashraf	Halaal slaughterer	Grade 7	51	Afrikaans	36 Years
Emran	Halaal slaughterer	Islamic studies	33	Chichewa	5 Years
Hashid	Halaal slaughterer	MSCE, Malawi school Certificate of Education	33	Chichewa	3 Years
Ibrahim	Halaal slaughterer	Degree in human resources	49	Somali language	13 Years

Isma'il	Halaal slaughterer	Grade 12	49	Somali language	6 Years
Kareem	Halaal slaughterer	Grade 10	43	Somali language	9 Years
Zuhair	Halaal slaughterer	Grade 11	45	Afrikaans	10 Years
Daniel	Kosher slaughterer	Rabbinical college	63	English	10 Years
Tzion	Kosher slaughterer	Rabbinical college	67	English	10 Years
Kanelo	Secular slaughterer	Grade 5	32	IsiXhosa	3 Years
Bongani	Secular slaughterer	Grade 9	33	IsiXhosa	9 Years
Fezile	Secular slaughterer	Grade 7	24	IsiXhosa	3 Years
Jongikhaya	Secular slaughterer	Grade 10	23	IsiXhosa	5 Years
Buhle	Secular slaughterer	Grade 8	23	IsiXhosa	3 Years
Johannes	Secular slaughterer	Grade 10	33	Afrikaans	8 Years

Mfuneko	Secular slaughterer	Grade 9	48	IsiXhosa	10 Years
Kevin	Secular slaughterer	Grade 12	35	Shona / English	1 Year
Jan	Secular slaughterer	Grade 8	26	Afrikaans	3 Years
Michael	Secular slaughterer	Grade 7	48	Afrikaans	20 Years
Jack	Secular slaughterer	Grade 12	26	IsiXhosa	3 Years
Jacob	Secular slaughterer	Grade 6	25	IsiXhosa	4 Years
Amilah	Muslim wife	Grade 12	44	Afrikaans	
Layla	Muslim wife	Grade 12	30	English	
Salma	Muslim wife	College degree	48	English	
Jaco	Manager at halaal and kosher abattoir	Certificate	34	Afrikaans	10 Years
Jana	Manager at halaal abattoir	Grade 12	47	Afrikaans	11 Years
Cobus	Quality manager at	Degree	45	Afrikaans	6 Years

	halaal abattoir				
Albert	Manager at halaal abattoir	Degree	39	Afrikaans	6 Years
Leon	Manager of halaal and secular abattoir	Grade 12	51	Afrikaans	20 Years
Gugulethu	Manager at secular abattoir	Grade 12	51	IsiXhosa	6 Months
Francois	Manager at secular abattoir	Degree	51	Afrikaans	26 Years
Garry	Manager at secular abattoir	Grade 12	30	English	6 Years